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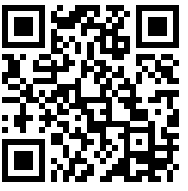

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Franciscan Institute Publications

PHILOSOPHY SERIES NO. 11

Edited by Allan B. Wolter, O.F.M.

THE CATEGORY OF THE AESTHETIC IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF SAINT BONAVENTURE

By Sister Emma Jane Marie Spargo

Published by

THE FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE
ST. BONAVENTURE, N. Y.

and

E. NAUWELAERTS
LOUVAIN, BELGIUM

F. SCHÖNINGH
PADERBORN, GERMANY

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To

MY DEAR FATHER

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FOREWORD

With an eye on the doctrines of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, Professor J. H. Randall Jr. has this to say: "Without a knowledge of these two intricate and subtle bodies of ideas, the subsequent course of the most modern European thinking grows quite unintelligible."[1] This candid statement serves notice of a drastic revision of viewpoint among scholars, which, while long overdue, has been rendered inevitable by the swift maturation of historical scholarship. Not only does this fresh appraisal point up the continuity of development that binds our modern accomplishments to the great Christian traditions of thought, but it indicates yet another decided shift in attitude. For notice, the two great doctrines are set before us as the illuminating background of modern thought, not merely the doctrine of St. Thomas. This linkage of doctrines marks a real advance in historical comprehension, and calls for a complete overhauling of our textbooks in the history of philosophy.

How was it possible to apprehend the great ideas unfolding across the stage of history, when we were lacking a knowledge of a body of ideas whose influence extended to every sphere of thought and activity? Undoubtedly, this ignorance of Augustinianism accounts in large measure for our failure to gauge the extent to which the best in modern thought is patterned on a new orientation of the human mind in which St. Augustine plays a leading role. What we have to do now, is to achieve a thorough familiarity with Augustinian thought. But we must also learn to view the doctrines of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, not in sterile dissociation, but in their inner and dialectical relation. In doing all of this, we shall deepen our understanding of modern thought, while at the same time grasping the value of its fresh and original elements.

[1] J. H. Randall, Jr., "Unifying Factors in the Development of Modern Ideas" (in *Studies in Civilization*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941, pp. 105—118).

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Just as the Aristotelian invasion of the West gave to Augustinianism, so, too, in our own day, the revival o is accompanied by a growing interest in every facet of St. A thought. But we are also enormously interested in the unfolding of the Augustinian themes in medieval and moc We can easily see, therefore, that Sister Emma Jane's s its place in a significant intellectual movement of the con world. Her study is a painstaking and admirable work of sc But it is much more than that, for it is also a work of lov by a magnificent tradition which found new and revit pression in the mind and heart of a great medieval figure, venture.

Her insight into the validity of the issues that bro being the doctrines of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure h her well. Moreover, she has a superb grasp of the historical i of many Bonaventurian ideas, for she sees them as the of a complex historical process containing elements whi from Pseudo-Dionysius and the Greek Fathers through Joh Erigena. But this historical immensity envelops, as she kr only what led up to St. Bonaventure, but also what followe we finally succeed in tracing the later career of the Bonav ideas — in the 17th century, for instance, and even in mo times, we shall assuredly appreciate the philosophical im of one who was also a prince among the mystics. Then anothe problem will face us, and, indeed, it is already forcing itse as we learn to take an actual historical process seriously — the problem arising from the fact that the highest feats of ra can be traced back to the thinking of mystics.

What Sister Emma Jane tells us of St. Bonaventur tribution to a distinctly aesthetic view of life is illuminat highly suggestive, especially now, when the aesthetic view is coming into its own. In throwing into relief the aesthetic orie of this great medieval thinker, Sister Emma Jane has laid t for more contributions which we hope will be forthcoming

Dr. Robert C. Poll
Fordham University, Ne

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PREFACE

A careful compilation of references to *pulcritudo*, *ars*, *proportio*, *imago*, *lux*, *ordo*, *delectatio*, and several other associated words, taken from the indexes of the eleven volumes of the Quaracchi edition of Saint Bonaventure's works, resulted in a voluminous collection. Saint Bonaventure used frequently the vocabulary of aesthetics; there can be no doubt as to the fact. In itself, it is no justification for proposing that his entire frame of thought was of an aesthetic trend. Yet it did immediately give tangible evidence that his mind possessed abundantly and used frequently the concepts proper to an artist. Was their use merely a convenient manner of expression, a familiar device to elucidate some other thought, or did it indicate the probability that there was a deeper implication? A painstaking check of the references to their texts and an interpretation of the texts in the light of the entire contexts where they were found could not but impress one with the richness of reference, the fecundity of significations, and the artistic power of the author. These were but first impressions of a rather superficial nature, fraught, however, with suggestion. A pursuit of the question has led to the following hardly refutable conclusion: the category of the aesthetic impregnates the entire thought of Saint Bonaventure. What is the characteristic mark of the works of Saint Bonaventure? Perhaps it can best be described as a universal aesthetic perception of the entire field of reality, a grasp of an aesthetic *Weltanschauung*. It can be seen in his presentation of theology, in his handling of the problems of metaphysics, in the interpretation of history, in his view of creatures, in his mysticism, and in the influence he had on succeeding artists and their work.

It is only to be regretted that the voluminous quantity of texts demands necessarily a selection to be made. There is a consequent relegation of much material, particularly when there is obviously

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repetition. An effort has been made to select the most texts, but the choice was often difficult, because there are significant ones. It is as if Saint Bonaventure had a foca which his thought continually reverted. It has frequer pointed out by those familiar with the work of Saint Bo that his thought is Christocentric, as distinguished from th and as opposed to anthropocentric. This will be seen to hav bearing on his aesthetic, for the Second Person of the Tr Image of the Father and His expressed Similitude, is calle or Beauty.

Perfection and order are the first characteristics of *Tam pulcrum, tam perfectum et ordinatum*; a second is its c cableness or expressiveness, signified by the frequent us word *species* to mean beauty. The supremely beautiful con principle of expressing and exemplarizing, and it is for thi that the Word is called Species. Moreover, the forms of a are communicated to us by means of the species which th the power to generate, and this kind of generation is called ge by expression. The third characteristic of beauty is that it l beholder to Him who is the source of all beauty as to its e is the *reductio* so distinctly Bonaventurian.

In the following pages, what constitutes beauty and the b and what are their effects will be considered first. Then th follow what Saint Bonaventure says about created beauty, be with material beauty, and then passing on to the spiritual in souls and in the angels. Next will be an investigation of un beauty, in which exemplarism plays a large part. Finally, discussion concerning art and the artist, there will be show all created things, as if sculptured by an artist, bear a resem to their Maker, as shadows, footprints, and images. Since the irr world has no power of immediately acknowledging its C the beauty of the visible universe is referred to God me through rational creatures. The rational creature is himself pressed image of God and ordered directly to Him.

To try to isolate ideas in the thought of Saint Bonave however, without considering the whole framework of his th

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would be a distortion. The entire orientation of Saint Bonaventure's thought has unity, for it is all directed Godward. Whatever he touches takes on a double aspect: what a thing is in itself, and how it represents and leads the soul to God. Symbolism is the keynote of Saint Bonaventure's aesthetic.

The following work was originally undertaken as a doctoral thesis in the Department of Philosophy at Fordham University. It is here presented in substantially the same form, with minor deletions, modifications, and corrections.

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INTRODUCTION

There has been very little done by way of research and interpretation on the category of the aesthetic in Saint Bonaventure. A possible reason may be that the works of the Seraphic Doctor in their authoritative and critical Quaracchi edition are physically cumbersome to handle, difficult to secure, and with the exception of a few works, untranslated.

That there is in the thought of Saint Bonaventure an aesthetic element is evidenced by the fact that several scholars have devoted considerable space to its treatment; others have mentioned it in more general terms, or at least implied its existence. For the most part, however, the name of Saint Bonaventure, as well as his teaching, is simply ignored by those who have written the history of aesthetics. This is not the case concerning Saint Thomas Aquinas, whose writings are readily available, and whose aesthetic, capably interpretated by Jacques Maritain, has, since the appearance of *Art et Scolastique*,[1] had an important impact on art and artists. When the thought of Saint Bonaventure becomes more generally known, there is justifiable assurance that there will be a deeper understanding of the beauty that confronts one, and a greater sensitivity to its reality. The present work is offered in the modest hope of furthering in some degree what has already been done and of giving new light by uncovering texts important both for the history of aesthetics, and for a fuller interpretation of Saint Bonaventure.

A recent study of the development of the idea of beauty as a fourth transcendental attribute of being[2] begins the section on Saint

[1] Jacques Maritain, *Art et Scolastique*, Paris, La Librairie de l'Art Catholique, 1920.

[2] Dom Henri Pouillon, "La Beauté, Propriété Transcendentale chez les Scholastiques (1220—1270)," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et litteraire du moyen âge*, vingt et unième année, 1946, pp. 263—314.

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Bonaventure by referring immediately to a newly discovere
tic manuscript concerning beauty as a fourth transcende
text of the manuscript will be discussed in the followi
It is dated as early as 1250, anterior to the *Commentary on the*
of Peter Lombard, Saint Bonaventure's earliest known w
recalls that among Saint Augustine's first writings was also
on beauty, now unfortunately lost or destroyed. Alth
passages of the manuscript are clear and of considerable in
to the history of aesthetics, there seems to have been in the
much material dependent upon the *Summa* of his teacher, A
of Hales, especially citations and references. This is pres
evidence that the manuscript was only a rough sketch o
material hardly worth being transcribed, for it could ha
influence, if any at all.[1] Yet from another point of view, it
seem very unusual that a young scholar should carefully note
ces and sources suggested by his professor. That is wh
Bonaventure must have been doing in this early work on a
in which he was interested, before beginning the profound th
work of the *Commentary on the Sentences.* This interest, w
producing a finished work on the specific subject of beau
apparently, have an influence on the trend of his thought; in
concentrating itself in a single work, it spread its fragrance thr
his entire writings. Nevertheless, the author of the recen

---

[1] . . . ces questions (des propriétés transcendentales de l'êt
antérieures au Sententiaire de Bonaventure. On peut donc dater
environs les parties qui nous intéressent ici. On est frappé, par l'
dépendence de ce traité de Bonaventure par rapport à la Som
d'Alexandre de Halès. Il en copie de longs passages, surtout cita
références, ou bien il le résume. Presque toujours il réprend sa
De plus ce brouillon aux questions inégalement élaborées dans u
à l'usage privé du saint ne doit guère s'être répandu. Il n'a pu
qu'une très minime influence, s'il en eut seulement; à notre conna
on ne l'a encore décelée nulle part. Ce qu'il y a de plus remarquab
le petit traité de Bonaventure, c'est ce qu'il dit des propriétés en
et de la beauté. Il admet quatre propriétés transcendentales de
l'unité, la verité, la bonté, et la beauté. Toutes quatre se fond
l'être . . . *Ibid.*, p. 281.

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on the transcendentals in the thirteenth century does not consider that there is much to glean for the subject from Saint Bonaventure's manuscript, an opinion which the following pages will hardly support. Using the *Summa* of Alexander of Hales as his source, he affirmed definitively the existence of the fourth transcendental, where the latter hesitated, and also insisted on its universal application.[1]

The prolific wealth of aesthetic meaning found in the writings of Saint Bonaventure were not derived entirely from his own creative genius. Every thinker has his framework of reference — other thinkers, contemporary or antecedent, from whom he gathers ideas. His own particular genius lies in the manner in which he assimilates their contributions, and produces from the assimilation a new, and distinctly personal interpretation.

The latest and most complete study made to date on Saint Bonaventure is included in a detailed, three-volume work on medieval aesthetics by Professor Edgar de Bruyne. One of its most satisfying features in the inclusion of ample texts. There is no attempt, however, to incorporate Saint Bonaventure's aesthetic into the body of his thought; in fact, it is proposed as a mere seconding of Saint Augustine's *aequalitas numerosa*, with little or no originality, other than establishing beauty as the fourth transcendental attribute of being, following the one, the true, and the good.[2] According to this

---

[1] On le voit, il n'y a que peu à glaner pour nous chez saint Bonaventure, mais ce peu ne manque pas de valeur, quoique nous le souhaiterions plus explique. Le grand mérite du Docteur Séraphique est d'avoir résolument franchi le pas devant la nouveauté duquel sa source, la *Somme* d'Alexandre, hésitait, et d'affirmer nettement quatre propriétés transcendentales, en ajoutant la beauté aux trois autres, et en insistant sur la porté universelle du beau: in omnibus est et ad omnia extendit. *Ibid.*, p. 282.

[2] L'esthétique de Saint Bonaventure nous paraît absolument unifiée: elle affirme *l'aequalitas numerosa* dans l'objet, dans le sujet, dans l'harmonie qui unit ces deux poles en s'épanouissant en plaisir. *L'aequalitas numerosa* rend compte de la *beauté de l'image* expressive qui tend à 'égaler' le modèle et de la *beauté formelle* du modèle qui réalise l'harmonie. Edgar de Bruyne, *Études d'Esthétique Médiévale*, III, Le XIII[e] Siècle, Brugge, "De Tempel" Tempelhof. 1946, p. 199.

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historian, Saint Bonaventure appropriated from Grosseteste musical tradition the notion of harmony, with no appreciab ence in interpretation.[1] Having used only the texts which bear on beauty, de Bruyne necessarily limited his mater was undoubtedly of set purpose, through a primary interes cultural and historical aesthetic milieu which determined Sa mas Aquinas' views on art and beauty.[2] His principal inten to assemble the aesthetic ideas of the people of the Midd their reflections on these matters, and to determine their a psychology. In short, he wished to discover what clerics and of the Middle Ages meant when they used the words *pul venustas*, *compositio*, *consonantia*, *artis peritia* and *artis s* He made no attempt as a modern critic, to understand or t medieval works.[3] Yet such a vast, scholarly undertaking co

---

[1] Il faut distinguer la beauté externe, corporelle, celle dor Augustin, et la beauté interne, qui s'étend à toutes choses, et do Denys sans la définir (ici). En d'autres termes, la beauté est ess ment harmonie de parties: *congruentia partium* dans les corps, h d'idées et de principes métaphysiques dans les substances spir *congruentia rationum*, unité suprême de l'ordre et harmonie parf formes éternelles en Dieu: *congruentia ordinis*. La Beauté est donc ici en fonction de la tradition musicale, puisque dans sa réponse Bonaventure ne relève pas la *coloris suavitas* et elle est définie en métaphysiques, puisque la définition n'est pas limitée au monde s En quoi l'esthétique de Saint Bonaventure se distingue-t-elle dès celle de Grosseteste métaphysicien? *Ibid.*, p. 191.

[2] En étudiant l'oeuvre de Saint Thomas d'Aquin nous nous s souvent demandé sur quel fond historique et culturel se détachai réflexions concernant l'art et la beauté. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, "De Boèce Scot Erigène," p. vii.

[3] . . . notre but principal, répétons-le, est d'exposer quelles les idées esthétiques des gens du Moyen-Age, de pénétrer leur con réfléchie en ces matières, de déterminer leur psychologie esthéti étrange nous semble-t-elle, de découvrir en un mot ce que les clercs d époque ont eu la sensation d'éprouver lorsqu'ils ont usé de termes *venustas* ou *pulchritudo*, *compositio* ou *consonantia*, *artis peritia* ou *sub* Il s'ensuit que nous ne cherchons nullement à comprendre ou à ju œuvres médiévales en fonction de critères modernes. *Ibid.*, p. viii.

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but form in the mind of the author some definite insights, relations, and conclusions. He observed that while medieval aesthetic, from on end to the other, formed a whole, nevertheless, the fundamental themes, while always the same, did show development in indeterminable variations with an infinity of nuances. He explained this fact by the survival and prolongation into the Middle Ages of the aesthetic of antiquity.[1] In a fourth volume yet to be published there is promised a summary of general conclusions which he has reached from his analyses. This will be of interest as establishing what the author has found to be of paramount importance in individual works, and the various influences and relations discernible among them. Until that time, the three volumes with their priceless direct references constitute a valuable source book for anyone interested in medieval aesthetics.

Undoubtedly there are many comparisons omitted which the author could have made. One of them concerns the aesthetic of Saint Bonaventure and its close filiation with that of John Scotus Erigena. The latter declared that visible forms, either as found in natural things, or in the words of Sacred Scripture, are the object of man's contemplation. These forms were not made for themselves, nor should they be so desired, but God made them to be images of His invisible Beauty, attracting souls through His Divine Providence to the pure and invisible beauty of truth.[2] Similarly, Saint Bonaventure,

---

[1] L'esthétique mediévale forme un tout assez compact et homogène d'un bout à l'autre quoique ses thèmes fondamentaux, toujours les mêmes, se développent avec des nuances infinies dans l'interminables variations. Il ne suffit pas d'affirmer une telle proposition, il faut la prouver. Le fait s'explique par la survie de l'Antiquité dans ces siècles étranges. L'Esthétique de Moyen-Age prolonge celle de l'Antiquité, surtout de la basse époque . . . *Ibid.*

[2] Visibiles formas sive quas in natura rerum sive quas in sanctissimis divinae Scripturis sacramentis contemplatur (homo), nec propter seipsas factas nec propter seipsas appetendas seu nobis promulgatas, sed invisibilis Pulchritudinis imaginationes esse per quas divina Providentia in ipsam puram et invisibilem Pulchritudinem ipsius Veritatis humanos animos revocat. John Scotus Erigena, *In Hierarchiam Coelestem*, cc. 138—139. (Quoted by De Bruyne, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 343).

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in the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, and in many other places, ed the beauty of creatures as a sign or symbol of the Beaut Creator, leading one from the love of the visible to a lov invisible. Throughout the works of John Scotus Erigena the constant effort to find God rationally through an an visible creation, and to prove his rational conclusions by the a of Sacred Scripture and the Fathers.[1] The object of his is God and God's manifestations, which he called *theophanie* theophanies are the visible and invisible forms by whose or beauty God is known. They are the symbols whose beau both the image of perfect Beauty, and a nostalgia for it.[2] Ev that one sees, or makes, conceives, or expresses has a the value. Everything, in other words, is a manifestation of the In in whose presence one remains speechless with admiration.[3] comparison would reveal an even closer resemblance betw aesthetic orientation of John Scotus Erigena and that o Bonaventure. De Bruyne calls the symbolism of John Scotus a doctrine of expressive beauty.[4] A similar comment is m Étienne Gilson about the philosophy of Saint Bonaventure. that Saint Bonaventure did not hesitate to push as far as he could the comparison between Divine Wisdom and the fecundity of created beings. This characteristic Gilson ca

[1] De toute l'oeuvre de Scot ressort le fait qu'il s'applique à Dieu par un effort rational dans l'analyse de la création visible, et à simultanément par l'autorité de l'Écriture et des Pères, les con qu'il jugera fermement établies. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

[2] Theophanias autem dico visibilium et invisibilium species, ordine et pulchritudine cognoscitur Deus. c. 919 (*De Div. Nat.*, Quoted by De Bruyne, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

[3] Quoi qu'il en soit de ces notions difficiles, il est absolument que pour Scot Erigène tout ce que nous voyons, tout ce que nous fab tout ce que nous concevons et exprimons a une valeur théoph Tout, en dernière analyse, est la manifestation de l'Ineffable: toute beauté, lorsque nous la pénétrons jusque dans le fond, nous muets d'admiration. L'ineffable, en effet, ne se loue que par le *Ibid.*, p. 354.

[4] Nous avons exposé jusqu'à présent le symbolisme de Scot E c'est-à-dire la doctrine de la beauté expressive. *Ibid.*, p. 358.

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expressionism of Saint Bonaventure.[1] According to the latter, the consideration of God as Pure Act includes the Christian idea of fecundity much more profoundly than does the same consideration, for example, in the thought of Saint Thomas Aquinas. The act by which God knows His Ideas is founded on the act by which He expresses them. This is a departure from the theoreticism of Saint Thomas, and anticipates the determinism of Duns Scotus.[2]

Neither Edgar de Bruyne nor Etienne Gilson have specifically linked the aesthetic of John Scotus Erigena with that of Saint Bonaventure, although both have indicated in their respective studies the common Platonic and Neoplatonic parentage of the two philosophies;[3] one historian shows the relation to Pseudo-Dionysius

---

[1] . . . saint Bonaventure n'a pas hésité à pousser jusqu'au bout la comparaison entre la sagesse divine et la fécondité naturelle des êtres creés lorsqu'une image de l'Écriture lui en a procuré l'occasion: *in sapientia aeterna est ratio fecunditatis ad concipiendum, producendum et pariendum quidquid est de universitate legum; omnes enim rationes exemplares concipiuntur ab aeterno in vulva aeternae sapientiae seu utero* (In Hexaem. XX, 5, V, 426). Étienne Gilson, *La Philosophie de Saint Bonaventure*, Paris, Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1943, p. 134.

[2] Or c'est là un point d'importance pour qui s'intéresse à la filiation des doctrines philosophiques. Ce que l'on pourrait appeler *l'expressionisme* de saint Bonaventure, suppose une conception de Dieu dont l'inspiration profonde est assez différente de celle de saint Thomas et radicalement incompatible avec celle d'Aristote. Il peut bien emprunter au philosophe grec la formule même par laquelle il le définit, l'Acte pur auquel pense saint Bonaventure participe d'abord à la fécondité du Dieu chrétien, et parce que cette fécondité pénètre plus profondément la notion de l'Acte pur chez saint Bonaventure que chez saint Thomas, nous le voyons fonder l'acte par lequel Dieu connaît les idées sur l'acte par lequel sa pensée les exprime. Or, c'est là s'éloigner du théorétisme de saint Thomas pour entrer dans la voie où s'engagera Duns Scot, celle d'un Dieu qui produit déterminément les essences, en attendant qu'avec Descartes il en arrive à les créer librement. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

[3] Jean Scot, à la suite du Pseudo-Denys et des *Pères grecs* pénétrés de néoplatonisme, s'élève jusqu'à Lui à partir de l'univers visible crée sans être créateur "natura quae creatur et non creat." De Bruyne, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

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and the Greek Fathers; the other, to Saint Augusti
Plato.[1]

It is consistently within the Platonic and Neo-Platonic t
that an intense interest in the study of beauty is found,
schools within this tradition allowed larger scope to the i
faculty and to contemplation, and, significantly, their conce
beauty was closely allied with their mystical temper.[2] Wit
tradition come Plato, Plotinus, Saint Augustine, the Pseudo-
sius, and Saint Bonaventure, to go no further than the thi
century. Plotinus has described the mystical ascent from the
contemplation of the beauty found in material things, on t
spiritual and intellectual things, to the ecstatic contempla
Beauty itself.[3] In this one finds a certain echo of Plato's *Symp*
wherein is found the same movement from the beauty of m
things to that of the spiritual, with the added implication o
and the corresponding repletion of desire.[4] Considering the tr

[1] *Augustinus autem Platonem secutus quantum fides catholica pat*
écrit saint Thomas (Quaest. disp. de spiritualibus creaturis X, a
saint Bonaventure suit à son tour saint Augustin et nous conduit
cet univers de symboles transparent dont la luxuriante floraison
jamais été atteinte et ne sera jamais dépassée. Gilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 19

[2] C'est surtout le courant platonicien et néoplatonicien (Platon,
saint Augustin, le Pseudo-Denys) qui s'est intéressé à la contemp
à la mystique et à la beauté. On comprend que l'École franciscaine
préoccupée de la beauté et ait insisté sur son universalité, car elle a t
manifesté une grand prédilection pour le mouvement néoplatoni
la mystique. Cela s'explique déjà en partie par le caractère et la vie
François d'Assise, si poète, si artiste et mystique. Celui que entr
un Ordre religieux y a manifestement des affinités que s'accentue
l'étude, la pratique de la Règle et l'imitation du Fondateur. Des pe
franciscains devaient donc tout naturellement s'intéresser à la bea
faire la métaphysique de la beauté répandu partout. Ce qui est vrai
l'est aussi pour Robert Grosseteste, prêtre séculier, mais premier
à l'École franciscaine d'Oxford, ainsi que pour Guillaume d'Auver
cause de l'influence néoplatonicienne qu'ils subissent si fort. Mgr.
mann avait déjà fait une remarque analogue. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

[3] Plotinus, *Ennead* I, 6; translated from the Greek into Engli
Stephen Mackenna, 1917—1930. Medici Society, Ltd., London.

[4] Plato "Symposium," *The Dialogues of Plato*, Translated into E
by B. Jowett, New York, Random House, 1937, Vol. I, pp. 301—3

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of Franciscan thought, it is not difficult to understand its preoccupation with beauty and the insistence upon its universality. Who understood more fully the mystical, ecstatic experience than the holy founder of the Franciscan Order, Saint Francis of Assisi? The Order that he founded is thus interested in spreading everywhere the metaphysics of beauty. The poet, artist, lover of nature, gave his genius to his Order as part of its patrimony.[1]

It has been rightly said that what Saint Francis lived and felt, his scholarly successor, Saint Bonaventure, as sixth General of the Order, was to think.[2] Crystallized into a metaphysic of exemplarism by its greatest doctor, it has permeated the whole of Franciscan thought until it has assumed the proportions of a complete view of the entire field of philosophy and theology. There has evolved,

[1] Progressus artis saec. XIII in eo maxime constitit, quod natura rerum visibilis iam non ut symbolum solum sed ut subiectum rei spiritualis ab artificibus concipiebatur, et quod simul aequa synthesis fuit spiritualismi anteriorum saeculorum novique naturalismi. Praeclarum illud S. Bonaventurae: "Ipsa rerum universitas fit scala ad ascendendum in Deum" tamquam generale principium productionis artisticae saeculi XIII considerari potest. Huius naturalismi coniuncti cum spiritualismo S. Franciscus auctor, licet non solus, sed eminens eoque efficacior fuit, quo magis novum illud ab ipso proveniens motivis religiosis et auctoritate viri sancti innititur, qui ab universo populo artificibusque medii aevi maxime venerabatur. Notandum est etiam S. Franciscum ingenio artificis dotatum, suo modo loquendi non abstracta sed concrete sensibusque magis obvie de sacris mysteriis factisque redemptionis nostrae, prototypon quoddam aptae productioni artis vere proficum artificibus praebuisse. Proprensionis illius in quemdam, ut ita dicam, realismum S. Francisci spiritualem vestigia manifesta in discipulorum suorum philosophicis theologicisque doctrinis, necnon scriptis ad eruditionem populi confectis, inveniuntur. Fundamenta igitur illa sanae evolutionis artisticae saeculi XIII, quae iure meritoque in ipsa spirituali indole culturaque eiusdem saeculi conspiciuntur, S. Franciscus eiusque prima soboles construxerunt et sic artis progressum inter primos causaverunt auxeruntque. P. Remigius Boving, "Das aktive Verhältnis des hl. Franz zur Bildenden Kunst", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, Periodica Publicatio Trimestris cura PP. Collegii D. Bonaventurae, Annus XIX, Ad Claras Aquas prope Florentiam (Quaracchi presso Firenze), 1926, p. 610.

[2] Ce que saint Francois n'avait fait que sentir et vivre, saint Bonaventure allait le penser. Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

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as a consequence, the possibility of a distinct aesthetic v
not to be found anywhere else, and, as a matter of fac
recognized as such, even today. Among those who have ack
that there is incorporated within the totality of Francisca
particularly in that of Saint Bonaventure, this unique, art
are E. Lutz, P. Ephrem Longpré, P. R. Boving, and Edgar
But after recognizing the comprehensive view of Saint Bon
aesthetic, they do not pursue it at any length. With a
interpretation, rather than a strictly philosophical one
historian of philosophy attributes to Saint Bonaventure
enabling him to build an entire philosophy of mysticisn
mysticism is not aesthetics, it must, nevertheless, be conc
both belong to the realm of contemplation, and as suc
Platonic school. What one interpreter considers a mystical
another may, perhaps more accurately, view as an aesth
It is not a different *ens*, but a different *ratio*.

It is within this framework of Platonic tradition that the
can historian, the Reverend Agostino Gemelli, places Fr
philosophy.[2]

[1] Irwin Edman, *Four Ways of Philosophy*, C. III, "Philo
Mystical Insight," New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1937, pp. 2

[2] Yet born of love arising out of the free exercise of the hu
though allowing its followers to wander in different directions, Fr
idealism never forgets its basic principles, and even in the realm
speculation it places love as the alpha and omega of reality, the w
queen of intelligence, and goodness — supreme goodness, which is
and bliss — as the highest aim of life. Round these two central
"love" and "will" gravitate all the varying types of Franciscan i
These two central points give an indication at once of the pred
philosophical trend of Franciscan idealism. When we consider
interpretations of reality, the Platonic and the Aristotelian, whi
developed along parallel lines in the history of human thought, w
that the Franciscans belong logically to the Platonic tradition —
genuine pagan one, but that which had filtered down to the Midd
through the elaborations of the Fathers. Franciscan idealism was
naturally on to the main trunk of Augustinian Platonism, beca
intuition of the meaning of the universe, *its love of beauty*, its devel
of human will-power, its craving to enter into touch with the div
postulate solutions similar to those found in the doctrine of St. Aug

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Yet there are other Franciscans who object to characterizing the Franciscan School by any special doctrine or by any single philosopher. For example, the Reverend Philotheus Boehner says it differs from other philosophies chiefly by carrying on its investigations in a Franciscan spirit, described as critical, scientific, progressive, and practical.[1] Franciscanism can be called a perpetual revival of the spirit of the Holy Gospel and the primitive Church.[2] Any optimistic, or over-confident trust in Greek wisdom must be first tested before the Christian can accept it. This testing was seriously undertaken by Franciscan philosophers from Saint Bonaventure to Ockham and reveals a sound Christian distrust in the purely natural philosophical enterprise — a distrust which led the Franciscan Doctors, not to fideism or scepticism (as some would have it), but to Christian criticism.[3]

Although Father Boehner refuses to label outright all Franciscan philosophy as Platonic, he does, nevertheless, include Saint Bonaventure among those who do, at least in part, follow Plato and the method of the wisdom philosophy, and concedes that in Franciscan philosophy there is ever present the urge or tendency to rise into the realm of this superior sort of philosophy. Saint Bonaventure does follow this tendency. He immediately adds that Franciscan philosophy as such does not follow this trend of thought, and gives as an example the marked Aristotelianism of Duns Scotus, the leader of the Franciscan School of Philosophy.[4] There is, nevertheless, a central idea that can be found throughout all the works of the Franciscan School,

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Besides this, in the doctrines of St. Augustine are to be found the premises of that Christocentric theology and that mystical longing for intimate union with God through the means of the Incarnation, which Franciscan Saints and thinkers were to elucidate in an unbroken chain of tradition throughout the centuries until it reached its final stage of development in the proclamation of the Immaculate Conception and the spread of the cult of the Kingship of Christ. Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M., *The Franciscan Message to the World*, Trans. and adapted by Henry Louis Hughes, London, Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1934, pp. 53—54.

[1] Philotheus Boehner, "The Spirit of Franciscain Philosophy," *Franciscan Studies*, Vol. 23 (New Series, Vol. 2), No. 3 (Sept. 1942), pp. 218—219.

[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

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which has been very well expressed by Saint Bonaventu
oportet iungere cum scientia caritatem, ut homo habeat simul
et caritatem.[1] *With knowledge should be joined love, so tha*
should acquire at the same time both knowledge and love.[2]

Saint Bonaventure, then, could be included among the
philosophers, along with Plato, Saint Augustine, and in
times, Kierkegaard. These philosophers are interested i
concrete existence, and his concrete relations to the world,
men, and to God. Each of these has a central theme, develop
many different angles, each development leading back inevi
the pivotal point: Plato's theme, the idea and its realizatio
Augustine's, the relations of God and man; Kierkegaard
terribly alone with God.[3] What Saint Bonaventure's central
is he has clearly told us: *Christ is the center of all.*[4]

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[1] *De Septem Donis Sp.* IV; V, 478, 23—24. Quoted by Boeh
cit., p. 234.

[2] Plus que Thomas d'Aquin, Bonaventure est devenu l'inspira
poètes et des artistes, car, selon la remarque de Thode, "ce ne son
dogmes discutés entre les Thomistes et les Scotistes qui importen
et à la poésie, c'est l'amour". Or l'influence pratique du seraphique
est de faire converger tous les coeurs vers l'amour de Dieu et de
heureuse Vierge Marie, la sainte Mère du Christ. Eusèbe Clop
Bonaventure, Paris, Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1922, p. 76.

[3] Boehner, op. cit., p. 225.

[4] Jamais depuis on n'a vu dans l'histoire — si ce n'est au si
S. François de Sales et du cardinal de Bérulle, dans une seconde effl
de la Christologie franciscaine — tant de science et d'amour s'en
de la sorte à situer le Christ au centre de la vie morale et de la m
chrétienne. Pour un théologien et un mystique aussi soucieux d
le Verbe Incarné comme l'alpha et l'oméga de tout, il était évide
nécessaire que le Christ, médiateur universel, fut aussi au coeu
métaphysique que des sciences spéculatives. P. Ephrem Longpré, C
La Royauté de Jésus-Christ chez s. Bonaventure et le B. Duns S
édition, Montréal, Librairie Saint-François, 1927. . . . l'univers et
s'ordonneraient immédiatement en un système totalement unifié. Co
çons par la centre, qui est le Christ; nous constaterons aussitôt qu'il d
possible de rejoindre toute chose à partir de lui et de revenir ver
partir de toute la chose. Étienne Gilson, *La Philosophie de Saint Bonav*
p. 380.

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On the contrary, the Dominican School, with its great Doctors, Saint Albert and Saint Thomas Aquinas, showed little interest in beauty or its transcendental character.[1] It was an accidental element, a stranger to philosophical reflection. This may explain the attitude of certain modern Scholastics toward aesthetics. Yet even a casual perusal of *Art et Scholastique* would convince one that, although Saint Thomas did not devote much space to the subject of art or beauty, nor did either exert any perceptible influence upon his thought, what he did say was said with a precision and clarity comparable to any of his most profound utterances. For Saint Thomas, beauty was essentially an object of the intellect, and consequently, only the two highest senses, the eyes and ears, can perceive the beautiful.[2] Saint Thomas has two definitions of beauty. The first of these con-

[1] Par contre, dans l'École dominicaine, il ne semble pas téméraire d'affirmer que les deux grands Docteurs de l'Église, saint Albert le Grand et saint Thomas d'Aquin sont plutôt "nés sous le signe d'Aristote." Ils ont fondé l'aristotélisme chrétien au XIII[e] siècle. Telle était leur principale préoccupation. Ce n'est pas qu'ils n'aient pas subi l'influence néoplatonicienne, mais dans une moindre mesure surtout saint Thomas. Albert le Grand ne s'inquiète guère de la beauté et n'affirme sa portée transcendantale que sous l'action intense du Pseudo-Denys et de la *Summa fratris Alexandri*. Ulrich le suit sous les mêmes influences, puis saint Thomas. Mais il est typique que, en dehors de ce rayonnement, le Docteur Angélique ne traite plus guère de la beauté, et ne parle plus de son universalité. Question de tempérament intellectuel et d'influences subies. N'oublions pas que saint Thomas possédait à la perfection l'ensemble de l'oeuvre du Stagirite, tandis que le néoplatonisme était beaucoup moins connu à son époque. On ignorait les *Ennéades* et presque tous les dialogues de Platon. Il est quasi certain que la révélation de ces ouvrages eut modifié l'aspect de la pensée au XIII[e] siècle. Tout cela fait comprendre l'attitude de saint Thomas dans ses oeuvres principales. La beauté y occupe très peu de place. Elle ne l'intéresse guère, a fortiori son charactère transcendental. Ce sont des eléments accidentels, étrangers à la réflection philosophique, qui expliquent l'état de la question chez saint Thomas lui-même. Et ceci à son tour explique en grand partie l'attitude de certains Scolastiques modernes par rapport aux problèmes que nous étudions ici. Pouillon, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

[2] Ad rationem pulchri pertinet, quod in ejus aspectu seu cognitione quietetur appetitus. *Sum. theol.* I—II, q. 27, a. 1, ad. 3. Quoted by Jacques Maritain, *Art et Scolastique*, p. 36.

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cerns the psychological effect: *that which pleases upon being* The second one, more analytical, names the three elements he considered as required to constitute the beautiful. *Three are required for a thing to be considered beautiful: the first is a integrity, or perfection; for whatever things are small are, by thi ugly; and due proportion, or harmony; and finally, light, for wh has color can be said to be beautiful.*[2]

One can distinguish, then, between the aesthetic of thes great lights of the thirteenth century — *Duae olivae et duo cand in domo Dei lucentia, qui et caritatis pinguedine et scientiae luce ecclesiam collustrant.*[3] This was pointed out a number of yea by Lutz in one of the first studies on the aesthetic of Saint venture, wherein he compares his aesthetic with that of Saint Th The experience of the beautiful for Saint Bonaventure emb not only the sense of sight and hearing as in Saint Thomas, bu the other senses of touch, smell, and taste, — all the sensation sentiments that can stimulate enjoyment in the individual, wi any immediate consideration of the intellectual role of the ob This enjoyment, the enjoyment of the pleasure of beauty, i aesthetic experience, and is almost wholly dependent upon individual soul and the sense power to which the aesthetic o is proportioned.[4] The aesthetic impression as presented by

[1] *Sum. theol.* I, q. 5, a. 4, ad. 1.

[2] *Sum. theol.* I, q. 39, a. 8.

[3] Bulla Triumphantis Ierusalem (14 martii 1588), I S. 13 (I, L).

[4] Anders Bonaventura. In seiner Ästhetik spielt das Gefühl eine g Rolle, der Genuß des einzelnen Sinnes in der ihm entsprechenden Qua oder Anregung, ohne jedwede Hinsicht auf das intellektuelle Ganze Objektes. Und dieser Genuß ist Schönheitsgenuß, der in der angeneh Betätigung der einzelnen Seelen und Sinnenkräfte beruht. Er untersch dabei das reine Formgefühl und das der Proportion im bereits erwäh Sinne, wie es auch schon Aristoteles kannte, ausdrücklich von dem gesättigten Betätigung des einzelnen Sinnes. Vom Objekte wird d fast vollständig abgesehen; dies spielt bei den Proportionsgefühlen Rolle neben den subjektiven Kräften, denen der ästhetische Gegens proportioniert ist. Hier aber ist das Subjekt alles. Seine leichte, Betätigung löst die delectatio oder das Schönheitsgefühl aus. E. L "Die Ästhetik Bonaventuras nach den Quellen dargestellt", Festg

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Thomas rests in an intellectual act, and consequently the object of aesthetic should be the form of the thing as the end.

But Saint Bonaventure holds a different position. Not only does he give an objective status to beauty, but he shows that man experiences beauty directly, and this experience has deep ontological and spiritual significance. Hence experiential elements predominate in his treatment of the aesthetic order. He treasures and loves the aesthetic object, because it awakens pleasure, joy, and delight. This feeling follows every easy, free experience of a human power, from the slightest sense stimulation to the highest spiritual experience. Rarely the idea of proportion is in the foreground, but there is, instead, an experience of joy on the part of the subject. More than any of his predecessors or contemporaries, Saint Bonaventure stressed the experiential moment in the appreciation of the beautiful.[1]

It was in Saint Bonaventure's theology, and especially in his mysticism, that his aesthetic, understood in this way, was to prove influential. While Saint Thomas placed the happiness of heaven in the knowledge of God, Saint Bonaventure believed it to be above all in the love, in the possession, and in the delight resulting from the union of all the powers with God. According to him, not only shall we see God's Beauty, but we ourselves shall be filled with His overflowing Beauty, His Abundance, His Goodness. In this he differed

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Baeumker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Supplement Band I, Munster i. W. 1913, p. 202.

[1] The sensitive, artistic nature of St. Francis, his admiration of natural beauty and passionate love of music, became in St. Bonaventure conscious and systematic study of beauty and of art. Though he did not arrive at a formulation of the problem of aesthetic beauty in the modern sense, he established, in a way that no one — not even the Greeks — had ever done before, its psychological elements. Firmly maintaining the reality of the objective value of beauty, he distinguished and laid stress on the subjective moment of appreciation, underlining in the subjective moment the emotional elements. An aesthetic reality was for him not solely of a perceptible nature. Beauty, like celestial beatitudes, for him as for all the Franciscan school was not essentially contemplation, but also love and enjoyment. Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M., *The Franciscan Message to the World*, p. 56. . . . St. Bonaventure was a poet and a mystic . . . *Ibid.*, p. 57.

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from his famous contemporary, and was able to enlarge an
the field of aesthetics.[1]

One might ask whether any of the distinctly Bonave
interpretations of philosophy have had any effect on art. The R
Remigius Boving[2] believed he saw an influence embodied
architectural work of the second half of the thirteenth
especially in the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris. He m
following descriptions: the west and main façade, completed
first half of the thirteenth century, the north façade, in the
of the century, and the south façade, in the second half.[3] T

[1] De Wulf sagt darum wiederholt mit Recht, daß der ästhetis
druck bei Thomas auf einem intellektuellen Akte beruhe, und daß
bei ihm letzten Endes die Form der Dinge das Objekt der Ästh
Ganz anders Bonaventura. In der Umgrenzung des subjektiven El
beim ästhetischen Eindrucke überwiegt bei ihm bedeutend der rein
logische Faktor. Er schätzt und liebt das ästhetische Objekt, weil
Freude und Genuß erweckt. Diese Gefühle schließen sich an jede
freie Betätigung der menschlichen Kräfte an, von der mindesten sin
angefangen bis zu den höchsten geistigen. Nicht das leichte Erken
Proportionen u. a. steht im Vordergrunde (Vgl. dagegen oben
den Begriff der claritas bei Thomas), sondern die Befriedigung de
jektes, die dem Vermögen und den Bedürfnissen entsprechende Bet
seiner verschiedensten Kräfte und Anlagen. Diesen tatsächlich ganz
Gedanken auszubauen und zu erweitern, lag für Bonaventura k
Anregung vor. Die Theologie war es, seine Mystik vor allem, die seineÄ
in diesem Sinne beeinflußten. Während nach Thomas die Glücks
im Himmel vorwiegend in der Erkenntnis Gottes beruht, so bei Bonav
vor allem in der Liebe, in Besitz, in Genuß, in der Vereinigun
Kräfte mit Gott. Wir schauen nach ihm Gottes Schönheit nich
sondern wir sind selber erfüllt von seiner überströmenden Sch
seinem Reichtum und seiner Güte. Diese führt ihn dazu das Schönheit
Glücksgefühl, beides ist ja in höchstem Sinne ein und dasselbe, m
sein Zeitgenosse nach der gezeichneten psychologischen Seite zu begr
und zu erklären. Lutz, *op. cit.*, pp. 206—207.

[2] P. Remigius Boving, O.F.M., *Bonaventura und die französische
gotik*, Werl i. Westf., Druck und Verlag Franziskus-Druckerei, 193

[3] An Notre Dame in Paris wurde die West- und Hauptfassad
1200—1250 unter der Leitung des Hauptbaumeisters des Domes, M
de Sully, erbaut, unter Leitung von Jean de Chelles wurden die Ar
an der Nordfassade um 1250, an der Südfassade laut der einige
später dortselbst angebrachten Inschrift im Februar 1257 bego

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then, in the same building an opportunity to compare characteristic features and changes. The south façade, called *la porte rouge*, shows a new feeling has been at work. There is a greater accent on the natural beauty of human beings, and the long, parallel lines and flatness of the figures in the west façade are here replaced by rounded ones, more highly raised, ones that carry a note, more individual than universal, and yet there is no lessening of nobility because of the approach to the material. The holy figures appear even more spiritualized in their high relief than in the west façade, as if they were filled inwardly with otherworldliness. Posture and proportion have been united to give expression to the divine. Boving saw here the union of idealism and realism in an even balance. External nature has become the bearer and the means of expressing the spiritual, so that nature and spirit are joined in a harmonious synthesis, leading upward to God.[1]

It would take too long to describe the Madonna of Notre Dame according to Boving, who found in this Madonna the full expression, as far as it is possible to inanimate stone, of the beauty and loveliness of the Mother of God as presented by Saint Bonaventure.[2]

Pierre de Montereau setzte von etwa 1265 an den Bau der Südfassade fort. Einige an diesen drei Seiten von Notre Dame in Paris befindlichen plastischen Bildwerke sollen uns zunächst beschäftigen. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[1] Aber diese mehr betonte, natürliche schöne Menschlichkeit an der porte rouge hat nichts Unedles und derb Materialistisches an sich. Die heiligen Gestalten erscheinen vielmehr in hohem Maße, ähnlich wie an der Westfassade, vergeistigt und von Jenseitswerten innerlich erfüllt. Recht deutlich kommt die Richtung auf das Göttliche durch Haltung und Gebärde der Knienden zum Ausdruck. Idealismus und Realismus haben einen innigen Bund geschlossen. Die wirkliche Natur ist die Trägerin und das Ausdrucksmittel des Geistigen geworden, Natur und Geistigkeit, in harmonisierter Synthese vereint, führen zum Göttlichen empor. *Ibid.*, pp. 53—54.

[2] Die Pariser Madonna ist wirklich die heilige Frau, deren innere und äußere Schönheit Bonaventura in seinen Muttergottespredigten ebenso oft gepriesen hatte, deren Leib er schön und hell wie Silber, wie die goldene Bekleidung der Arche nannte. In diesem Mikrokosmos, den sie darstellt, spiegelt sich jener Makrokosmos, den Bonaventuras architektonischer Geist als einen einheitlichen, durch Proportion und Rhythmus wohlgegliederten Organismus gezeichnet hat. Diese Pariser Madonna ist die Gestaltung hoher Wirklichkeit. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

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The symbolism seen everywhere in the Middle Ages, a in the Cathedrals, reminds one that the material church of the union of the faithful in the mystical body, wher the Head and the faithful are the members, bound toge a mystical and an organic way.[1] This union of the membe Head is imaged in the concrete structure so that the resu can be perceived as organic, rather than purely mathe

What relation has this to Saint Bonaventure, and wha is it that herein lies his direct influence? Boving contin brief reference to Saint Bonaventure's use of the terms in reference to the external universe, and *microcosm*, to universe of man's soul where all material things of the can be represented spiritually. These outer and inner both governed by the same rules of proportion and rhyt Bonaventure had so lofty an opinion of the heavenly worth things belonging to these two worlds that God and the world infinitely far from one another, in another way, seemed nea being as a whole, not so much in a state of passive rest, as in movement, and this power of being found expression in th characteristic of his metaphysics, physics, and ethics. The influence on architecture of this view can be discovered l sideration of three principal marks by which the archit the second half of the thirteenth century is distinguished:

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[1] Die Auffassung aller Symboliker des Mittelalters, daß das Bauwerk eines Gotteshauses Abbild der Kirche als Gemeins Gläubigen sei, geht auf die ältesten christlichen Zeiten zurüc St. Augustin und Gregor der Große haben sie ausgesprochen. Die schaft der ecclesia universalis bildet nach den tiefsinnigen Da des heiligen Apostels Paulus einen mystischen Leib, in dem Chr Haupt und die Gläubigen die Glieder sind. Aufbau und Gliede Kirche Christi sind also im mystischen Sinne organisch aufzufass als Analoga der organischen Gestaltung eines menschlichen Körpe p. 73.

[2] Weil das Gotteshaus Abbild des Organismus der geistigen u baren Kirche Christi ist, erfordert die Bauform des kirchlichen Kultg daß dies eine organisch, nicht ausschließlich mathematisch ge Einheit darstellt. *Ibid.*

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over-all organization of material, a clear manifestation of the individual value of the structural materials, their harmonious union into the composite, and a keener accent in the erection of the masses.[1]

Rheims Cathedral also evidences that the teaching of Saint Bonaventure had not only an aesthetic meaning, but that it was capable of being concretized in art[1]. The concentric west façade of the Cathedral calls to our mind the all-embracing divine power that circumscribes and gives being to the things of earth, and at the same time, reminds us of the supernatural character of all earthly things and their intimate relation to their celestial source.[2] It is a good illustration of what Saint Bonaventure meant when he said that the universe is as a ladder leading up to God. Not only in Paris and

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[1] Bonaventura hatte, wie bereits festgestellt wurde, den Makrokosmos als einen großen, nach den Gesetzen der Proportion und des Rhythmus wohl gegliederten, aber einheitlich konstruierten Organismus aufgefaßt und in dem Mikrokosmos des Menschen eine besonders edle, schön geformte organische Gestaltung gesehen. Er hatte den Wert des natürlichen Seins, das diesen beiden Welten angehört, intentional so gesteigert, daß Jenseitswerte in diesem klar erkannt, daß Gott und Welt, obwohl in einer Beziehung fern voneinander, doch in einer andern Beziehung sich nahe erschienen. Das gesamte Sein wurde von Bonaventura nicht so sehr in träger Ruhe, als in dynamischer Bewegung, die Seinskräfte der metaphysischen, physischen und ethischen Ordnung in aktiver Tätigkeit gesehen. Ein etwaiger Einfluß dieser Anschauung auf die Baukunst konnte sich demnach durch drei Merkmale der architektonischen Gestaltung des Kirchenbaues in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts offenbaren: reichere Durchorganisation des Stofflichen, deutliche Versinnlichung der natürlichen Seinswerte der Bauelemente und ihrer harmonischen Eingliederung in den Komplex jenseitiger Werte, schärfere Betonung des Dynamischen im Aufbau der Massen. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[2] Die Westfassade der Reimser Kathedrale bietet sich uns dar als das konzentrierte Bild jenes Kosmos, der konstitutiv die Universalität der Naturdinge umspannt und durch den Glanz der Spuren des Göttlichen und die Gewalt der Harmonien des Schönen seine unlösbare Verbundenheit mit dem überweltlichen Urquell aller irdischen Werte dokumentiert. Wenn diese in einem bestimmten Sinne weltumspannende Größe des Wunderwerkes der Reimser Domfassade mit einem Satze charakterisiert werden soll, so finde ich keinen so bezeichnend als den des hl. Bonaventura: "Ipsa rerum universitas fit scala ad ascendendum in Deum". *Ibid.*, p. 78.

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Rheims did the new ideal in architecture have influence, but t
out all of northern France.[1]

There is still another feature of Saint Bonaventure's
which Boving believed had considerable influence on the ar
of the Cathedrals — the interest in light. He illustrates this
siderable detail with sufficient evidence to prove that it rea
have existed. In both Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris and in
Cathedral, the windows constructed in the second half of the thi
century were both more numerous and larger than those of a p
period. Boving describes these two churches in detail. T
mentions many in France and in other lands that have unc
the same change from a dark interior to one enriched with the
colors of higher, wider, and more numerous stained glass wir
Saint Bonaventure once said how beautiful he considered a
glass window through which the light of the sun, broken into
colors, streamed in.[3]

The last evidence of the influence of Saint Bonaventure's t
that Boving proposes is the universal imprint of the Trinity
things.[4] This can be seen in the introduction in the second

[1] Diese neue Gesinnung beeinflußt die Baukunst also nicht ausschl
in Paris und Reims. Man kann durch ganz Nordfrankreich gehen,
wieder begegnet man der Tatsache, daß die Architektur nach der
des 13. Jahrhunderts von jenen neuen Idealen geleitet wird, auf die
venturas Denken klar und bestimmt verwiesen und die dem Volke
Zeit geistig so nahe gebracht waren, daß ihre in den Kathedralen zu
und Reims sichtbar gewordene Gestaltung der ungezwungene Aus
eines nicht mehr unbekannten allgemeineren Lebensgefühls war
z. B. den baulichen Charakter der vor 1250 erbauten Hauptdomfr
in Chartres, Noyon und Laon in der Erinnerung hat und sich dann B
wie die Seitenfassaden der Kathedralen in Beauvais, Rouen, M
Auxerre, Sens, Senlis, Tours ansieht, wird zwischen beiden Archit
gruppen wesentlich dasselbe Verhältnis wiederfinden, das zwische
verschiedenen Zeitepochen angehörenden Bauteilen der Kathedral
in Paris und Reims festgestellt werden konnte. Auch außerhalb Frank
schafft die neue Baugesinnung neue Bautypen bereits in der zweiten H
des 13. Jahrhunderts. *Ibid.*, pp. 83—84.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 92—94.

[3] *S. Marco Ev. Sermo* I (IX 519).

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 96 ff.

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the thirteenth century of the triple-arched entrances and in the trefoil windows.[1]

To realize how really unknown is the thought and influence of Saint Bonaventure, one has only to turn to such an authoritative work as that of Émile Mâle: *L'Art Religieux du XIII^e Siècle en France.*[2] Our quarrel here is not with the facts presented in the study, or even with their interpretation; it is rather with the author's complete omission, utter disregard, or probably what is more accurate, his simple ignorance of the tremendous contribution that Saint Bonaventure offered to the thirteenth century and succeeding centuries in the field of aesthetics. The entire book is carefully documented with significant references, from the earliest Fathers of the Church, through the thirteenth century, to the fourteenth century and Dante. One could go through the book and make a new set of footnotes for almost every page, showing whole passages from the writings of Saint Bonaventure that could illustrate exactly what the author has said. In many cases the author has used the same sources that Saint Bonaventure himself used: Saint Augustine, the Pseudo-Dionysius, Boethius, Hugh of Saint Victor, Saint Bernard, Peter Lombard. Hence, he has had the opportunity to catch the same spirit that animated Saint Bonaventure, and to recognize it in its embodiment in the thirteenth century cathedrals. To read Émile Mâle's book, after having carefully studied the works of Saint Bonaventire, would deepen the understanding of the Seraphic Doctor's aesthetic thought, and enrich the enjoyment and appreciation of thirteenth century art and architecture.

To mention a few places in the book under consideration where a reference could have been made to Saint Bonaventure either as a

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[1] Nun ist aber seit etwa der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts in der Gotik Frankreichs die besondere Bevorzugung des Dreipasses und des dreiteiligen Kleeblattbogens, namentlich in der Konstruktion der Radfenster und im Maßwerk der Fenster zu beobachten. Boving, *op. cit.*, pp. 99—100.

[2] Émile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIII^e Siècle en France, Étude sur l'Iconographie du Moyen Age et sur ses Sources d'Inspiration*, sixième édition, Paris, Libraire Armand Colin, 1925.

[3] Spargo, Category.

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source of inspiration, or as one who expressed a similar idea, or
begin by the depiction of Creation in one of the entrances of
Cathedral. Here the Creator is not an image of God the
but is Christ, a fact which astonished Didron, the archeolog
studied at great length this part of Chartres Cathedral.[1]
scholar, Michelet, was indignant to find that throughout
thousand figures painted or sculptured in this gem of a ca
there is not a single image of God the Father. The world t
been created is a symbol of the idea that God has had with
from eternity, as an artist carries in his soul the idea of th
that he is to make. When God created, it was by His Verbu
Son, that He created, and this is represented in Chartres Cath

Throughout the entire book the author emphasizes rep

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 28, note 2.

[2] Qu'est-ce que l'univers visible? Que signifie la multitude
brable des formes? Qu'en pense le moine qui rêve dans sa cellule
docteur qui médite, avant l'heure de son cours, en marchant dans le
de la cathédrale? Est-ce une apparence? Est-ce une réalité? — Le
âge est unanime à répondre: le monde est un symbole. L'univers
pensée que Dieu portait en lui, au commencement, comme l'artiste
dans son âme l'idée de son oeuvre. Dieu a créé, mais il a créé par son
ou par son Fils. C'est le Fils qui a réalisé la pensée du Père, qui
passer de la puissance à l'acte. Le Fils est le vrai créateur. — Pénét
cette doctrine, les artistes du moyen âge ont toujours représenté le Cr
sous les traits du Jésus-Christ. (Cela est très visible à Chartres: scè
la Création, porche septentrional.) Didron s'étonne, et Michelet s'in
bien à tort, de ne pas rencontrer l'image du Père dans la cathédrale. (D
au cours de l'Hist. de Dieu; Michelet, dans la préface de la Renaiss
Dieu le Père à créé, disent les théologiens, *in principio*, c'est-à-dire *in*
en son Verbe, en son Fils. (C'est ainsi que les théologiens interprèt
passage: *In principio Deus creavit coelum et terram;* pour eux, *princ*
est l'équivalent de *verbum*. Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. nat.*, liv. I, ch
Honorius d'Autun, *Hexaemer.*, ch. I, *Patrol.*, t. CLXXII, col. 253.
remonte à saint Augustin.) Jésus est l'auteur à la fois de la Création
la Restauration. ("In Christo omnia creata est postmodo cuncta
reparata." Honorius d'Autun, *loc. cit.*) *Ibid.*, p. 29. The parts in paren
are the footnotes to the passage quoted, and are included to show that
were what the author considered as the sources of the thought o
paragraph.

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that the cathedrals exhibit a Christocentric orientation.[1] Christ is represented as the center of all creation and history. The philosophy of history which places Him there is clearly expressed in the portal of the Cathedral of Amiens, where the statue of Christ dominates the central part of the main façade. Émile Mâle describes it thus. Clothed with Divine Beauty, crushing under His feet the lion and the dragon, Christ blesses with the right hand, and holds in His left, the book of the Gospels. Surrounding Him are prophets, representing the Old Testament, and the apostles, representing the New; for the history of the Church, there are the martyrs, the confessors, and the doctors. At the very first glance, Christ is to be seen as the center of history. Bossuet could have found his *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* realized in the façade of Amiens. The same centralization of Christ is also depicted in the meridional portal of Chartres, and in the stained glass windows in the main nave of Bourges.[2] Especially is the statue of Christ at Amiens noted for its exceptional beauty, dignity, and majesty. This admirable work of art has been called *le beau Dieu, le Christ enseignant, le Christ vainqueur*.[3] At the very door of any of the cathedrals, one meets Christ who holds the key

[1] . . . les chrétiens du moyen âge avaient l'âme toute pleine de Jésus-Christ: c'est lui qu'ils cherchaient partout, c'est lui qu'ils voyaient partout. Ils lisaient son nom à toutes les pages de l'Ancient Testament. Ce genre de symbolisme donne la clef de beaucoup d'oeuvres du moyen âge, qui, sans lui, demeureraient inintelligibiles. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[2] Après l'âge des figures, voici maintenant le temps des réalités. C'est ici le noeud de l'histoire du monde. Tout vient aboutir à Jésus-Christ et tout part de lui. Nulle part cette philosophie de l'histoire n'a été exprimée plus clairement qu'au portail d'Amiens. Jésus est vraiment le point central de l'immense façade. Revêtu d'une beauté divine, foulant aux pieds le lion et le dragon, il bénit de la main droite et tient de la gauche le livre des Évangiles. Auteur de lui, l'Ancien Testament est représenté par les prophètes, le Nouveau par les apôtres, l'histoire du Christianisme par les martyrs, les confesseurs, les docteurs. Du premier coup d'oeil, on voit que Jésus est au milieu de l'histoire. *Le Discours sur l'histoire universelle* de Bossuet se trouve réalisé à Amiens avec magnificence. Le portail méridional de Chartres, les vitraux de la grande nef de Bourges, où Jésus occupe aussi la place centrale, donnent le même enseignement. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

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to the enigma of life. About Him are illustrated how the wor
and how it will end. The figures of the Old and New Tes
are all symbols of Him, for they participate in His nature.[2]
representations of the Last Judgment can be found agai
surrounded by concentric circles, where the blessed are hiera
ranged. At Notre Dame in Paris there is an arrangement
to Dante's *Divine Comedy*.[3]

The three main charcteristics of the art of iconography
Middle Ages, according to Mâle, were conventional identifi
mystical numbers, and symbolism.[4] Particularly in the last mer
is there a familiar echo of Saint Bonaventure's thought. Th
is presented as a symbol of the thought that God had in the be
and which He brought to actuality through the Son. Eve
in the world hides within it the Divine Idea, and hence the
becomes an immense book written by the hand of God, whe
being is a word full of meaning. The ignorant see only the
the mysterious letters; but the learned person lifts himsel

[1] The statues of personnages of the Old Testament who pre
Christ, Mâle calls *des grandes statues christophores. Ibid.*, p. 397.

[2] Approchons-nous. Au porche, nous rencontrons d'abord Jésus-
comme le rencontre tout homme qui vient en ce monde. Il est la
l'énigme de la vie. Autour de lui une réponse à toutes nos questio
écrite. Nous savons comment le monde a commencé et comment il
des statues, dont chacune est le symbole d'une âge du monde, n
mesurent la durée. Tous les hommes dont il importe que nous conna
l'histoire, nous les avons sous les yeux: ce sont ceux qui, sous l'An
ou la Nouvelle Loi, furent des types de Jésus-Christ; car les ho
n'existent qu'autant qu'ils participent à la nature du Sauveur. Les a
rois, conquérants, philosophes, ne sont que des noms, des ombres v
Ainsi le monde et l'histoire du monde nous deviennent clairs. *Ibid.*, p
Also see p. 178.

[3] Le respect de la hiérarchie se manifeste surtout quand il s'ag
représenter les bienheureux qui composent l'Église triomphante. Au p
du Jugement, à Notre Dame de Paris, les saints rangés dans les vous
forment des condons concentriques autour de Jésus-Christ, comme
la *Divine Comédie* de Dante. On voit successivement l'ordre des patriar
celui des prophètes, celui des confesseurs, celui des martyrs et celu
vierges. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 1—21.

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visible things to those which are invisible. He who reads in the book of nature, reads the thought of God. Herein lies the echo of Saint Bonaventure.[1]

Mâle recognized the clergy as the guiding influence regulating the construction and ornamentation of the cathedrals. The three characteristics of the art of the Middle Ages presuppose an intellectual conception and conviction that history and nature are an immense symbol. This intellectual system the Church brought to the faithful in the smbolism of art.[2] The artists, inspired by the theologians,[3] were their docile interpreters,[4] so that the art of the Middle Ages is profoundly dogmatic, and is theology become visible.[5] No one but a clerk, that is, a member of the clergy, would have been able to conceive, for example, the portals of Chartres and Laon, or the stained glass windows of Lyons.[6] Everywhere one can find the hands of the men of the Schools, that is, the doctors. How could humble artists, who were hardly above the status of workmen, have known how, for example, to represent *Philosophy* as Boethius described her, or to engrave in Greek letters on her robe?[7] Also, it should be

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 29. Quoted above.

[2] Une pareille conception de l'art suppose un système du monde profondément idéaliste et la conviction que l'histoire et la nature ne sont qu'un immense symbole. Nous verrons que telle fut bien, en effet, la vraie pensée du moyen âge. Et qu'on ne croie pas que ces idées fussent seulement celles des grands docteurs du XIII[e] siècle: l'Église sut les faire arriver jusqu'à la foule. Le symbolisme du culte familiarisait les fidèles avec le symbolisme de l'art. *Ibid.*, pp. 15—16.

[3] Les artistes, inspirés par les théologiens . . . *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[4] . . . les artistes du XIII[e] siècle furent les interprètes dociles des théologiens. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

[5] Voilà l'esprit qui a présidé au choix des scènes de la vie de Jésus-Christ. Nulle part n'apparaît mieux le caractère profondément dogmatique de l'art du moyen âge, qui est la liturgie elle-même et la théologie devenues visibles. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

[6] Des ensembles comme le portail septentrional de Chartres (portail central), où chacune des grandes statues christophores personifie une époque de l'histoire du monde et symbolise l'attente des nations, n'ont pu être conçus que par des clercs. *Ibid.*, p. 397.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 397—398.

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remembered that connected with the Cathedrals were schools of sacred science and that frequently the Bishops themselves were former professors. One cannot doubt that they supervised the ornamentation of their cathedrals and may even have traced out the plans.[1] Those who try to represent the artists who worked on the cathedrals as revolters, or as thinkers, or as precursors of the French Revolution were quite mistaken.[2]

The work of Boving complements that of Mâle. Boving saw in French Gothic architecture a faithful reflection of the fundamental notes of Saint Bonaventure's system of thought.[3] The changes that modified and beautified Gothic architecture in the second half of the thirteenth century he believed were directly due to the teaching and preaching of Saint Bonaventure.[4]

To link together two things as cause and effect, simply because of their historical sequence, would be, at best, poor reasoning. It is not on such an unstable foundation that Boving's thesis rests concerning Saint Bonaventure's influence on medieval architecture. By descriptions and reproductions, he established the fact that there was a marked change for the better in the work done on the cathedrals of France in the second half of the thirteenth century. After direct references to the teachings of Saint Bonaventure which could be interpreted as the ideal source of the concrete embodiment, he turns to view the man himself. Saint Bonaventure, doctor and mystic, held a leading place among the scholars of his day. Both by circumstance and personality, the holy Cardinal was in a position to exert a powerful influence among people of high rank. As a brilliant

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 398.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 400.

[3] Der allgemeine Formcharakter jener Kunst erschien uns fast wie ein getreues Spiegelbild der geistigen Grundhaltungen des bonaventurianischen Gedankensystems. Boving, *Bonaventura und die französische Hochgotik*, p. 104.

[4] Wir sahen diese Analogien in Formeigentümlichkeiten an Kunstdenkmälern, die nachweislich erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts entstanden sind, während der Einfluß Bonaventuras auf die künstlerische Gestaltung sich bereits von 1248 an durch Schrift und Predigt geltend machen konnte. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

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pulpit orator he propagated his ideas among all classes of people. By his extraordinarily lovable and artistic personality, he must have attracted especially the hearts of artists. The artistic genius in the thirteenth century gathered from the religious teacher thoughts to be translated into material structures. Warmly interested in nature and life, the artist would fashion his works in dependence upon a transcendental ideal which he kept continually before his eyes, in a sublime, yet serene way. In no other intellectual leader of the time was this ideal of artistic feeling so well fulfilled as in Saint Bonaventure.[1]

[1] Ist somit die zeitliche Priorität der Gedankenäußerung Bonaventuras vor dem Entstehen der Kunstdenkmäler erwiesen, so schließen wir aus Gründen, die teils in der Natur des künstlerischen Schaffensprozesses gelegen, teils aus der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker als allgemein geltend erkannt worden sind, auch auf die kausale Priorität der Gedankenwelt Bonaventuras von den ihr zeitlich folgenden Kunstwerken, ohne uns des Fehlschlusses post hoc, ergo propter hoc schuldig zu machen. Ist der Satz unleugbar wahr, daß Kunstgeschichte Geistesgeschichte ist, daß die wechselnden formalen Erscheinungen in der Kunst auf dem Wandel im Geistesleben der Zeit beruhen, so müssen wir auch den hoch bedeutsamen Formwandel, der um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts in der französischen Gotik einsetzt, auf neue geistige Grundhaltungen, ein neues Lebensgefühl zurückführen. Diese geistigen Haltungen wurden im 13. Jahrhundert keineswegs an letzter Stelle durch die führenden Männer der Geisteswissenschaft bestimmt und geformt, unter denen Bonaventura als Denker und Mystiker eine hervorragende Stellung einnimmt. In den Zeitumständen und in der Persönlichkeit des heiligen Kardinals waren die Garantien für eine Beeinflussung im Volke Frankreichs bei Bonaventura in einem höheren Maße vorhanden als bei andern führenden Denkern des 13. Jahrhunderts. Trug Bonaventura als glänzender Kanzelredner seine Ideen in alle Kreise des Französischen Volkes, so stand er als eine außerordentlich liebenswürdige Persönlichkeit, als künstlerischer Mensch den Herzen der Kunstschaffenden besonders nahe. Der künstlerische Genius nährte sich im 13. Jahrhundert von den Gedanken der kirchlichen Lehre, die er in Bauten und Bildwerke übersetzte. Er war lebhaft interessiert für Natur und Leben, gestaltete aber deren wirkliche Gegebenheiten in steter Abhängigkeit von einem transzendenten Ideal, das groß und gebieterisch, rein und heiter vor seinen Augen stand. Bei keinem der großen Führer in der Geisteswelt fand er zu seiner Zeit dieses Ideal seinem künstlerischen Empfinden so nahe gebracht als bei Bonaventura. *Ibid.*, pp. 105—106.

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The art of the thirteenth century has also been aptly described by P.-M. Léonard, S.J. Herein he sees expressed the order of the city; in a more exalted way, the order made to reign in the mind by the doctors; higher still, the order ruling in souls through the certitude of faith. The entire treatise repeats almost exactly what Saint Bonaventure has already said, as the following chapters will attempt to show. Yet even the scholarly work of Père Léonard has failed to link the name of Saint Bonaventure with aesthetics.[1]

So much can be said for medieval aesthetics. Now one might inquire whether there was any further influence of Saint Bonaventure on art after the thirteenth century. Replacing that century's sym-

[1] L'art du XIII[e] siècle exprime l'ordre de la cité, — plus haut, l'ordre que les grands docteurs font alors régner dans les intelligences; plus haut encore l'ordre que règne dans les âmes par les certitudes de la foi. Largement encyclopédique, il accueille toute créature et l'ordonnance selons un rythme auquel il pense tout l'univers soumis: car les nombres sur lesquels sont construits le monde physique et le monde moral sont éternels, étant pensées de Dieu. La beauté elle-même une cadence, un nombre harmonieux. Toute forme est langage symbolique, vivifiée par l'esprit. L'histoire et la nature ne sont elles-mêmes qu'un immense symbole. La cathédrale agit donc comme un sacrement: elle représente, raconte, transfigure. Elle enseigne que la beauté est partout, dans la plus humble plante, qu'elle glorifie si on l'aime en Dieu.... Elle offre à méditer toute l'histoire du monde, une histoire idéal, où l'humanité en marche trouve le Christ partout présent, unissant les temps.... Dans cet art, tout est certitude, sérénité, paix profonde, force de repos, amour silencieux. Ni laideur, ni souffrance, ni angoisse. La mort y est une suprême beauté, les morts attendent, étendus, mains jointes, jeunes, yeux ouverts, ce que nous verrons, ce que nous possèderons, les quatorze béatitudes de la cité future dont cet art en état de grace est déjà l'image. Sept dons du corps: beauté, agilité, force, liberté, santé, volupté, longévité, — sept dons de l'âme: sagesse, amitié, concorde, honneur, puissance, sécurité, joie (Saint Anselme, et à sa suite, tous les grands théologiens du moyen âge). Tel est l'harmonieux génie du *miracle français*. Les porches de Chartres, comme le Paradis de Dante, sont des symphonies. Jamais l'art n'a exprimé avec autant de magnificence d'ampleur, de majesté, la spiritualité d'une époque. Inévitablement, ces moments de merveilleux équilibre, de technique et d'esprit, de sobriété et expression, de joie sensible et de piété, d'oubli de soi et de grandeur, de raison et de révélation, d'exacte concordance entre le developpement interne de techniques idéaliste et les aspirations unitives des esprits, ne peuvent durer longtemps. ... P.-M. Léonard, S.J., *op. cit.*, cols. 919—920.

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bolism, there followed, in the fourteenth century, a new realism, expressed by the painters Giotto, Cimabue, and Fra Angelico, among others, and whose chief aim was to touch, to move.[1] Recent studies have also shown that Raphael's famous sixteenth century frescos of the *Stanza della Segnatura* were inspired by Franciscan thought.[2] The textual source, according to Father Boehner, is the *Prologue* to Saint Bonaventure's *Breviloquium.* This does not mean that Raphael himself was directly influenced by the Seraphic Doctor, but that the cleric who planned the work must have known the Bonaventurean theory of illumination.

In modern aesthetics there has been seen a relation between Saint Bonaventure's thought and the *Einfühlung*-theory. Saint Bonaventure, as a true Scholastic, denied in no way the objective structure and value of the aesthetic object. But he stressed more the experimental factor and its noetic significance than did Saint Thomas or his predecessors. The experience of beauty is not only of a noetic, but also of a hedonic nature. The thirteenth century psychology of Saint Bonaventure detected the kernel of aesthetic pleasure, which modern aesthetics have further developed. However, Saint Bonaventure's position would not permit all types of aesthetic pleasure to include *Einfühlung* as an essential element. *Einfühlung* has been described as an immediate, unconscious absorption of the object by the subject in the process of perception, as for example, the apparently unending extent of the sea or the plain representing the yearning for the infinite, or the lifeless limbs of statues in their different forms and positions suggesting the living expression of an idea. The inner life and sound and feeling are not in the lifeless reality contemplated, but the beholder places them there, not through an act of the understanding, but immediately through a gentle suggestion of the object itself.[3] Although it is readily agreed that

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Harry B. Gutman and Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M., "Raphael's Disputa", *Franciscan Studies,* Vol. 23, No. 1 (New Series, Vol. 2), (March 1942), pp. 35—48.

[3] P. Remigius Boving, O.F.M., „Die Ästhetik Bonaventuras und das Problem der ästhetischen Einfühlung", *Franziskanische Studien,* Achter Jahrgang, Münster, 1921, pp. 201—206.

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the *Einfühlung*-theory can be accepted as a correct interpretation of many aesthetic experiences, it is not an essential element in all aesthetic pleasure. Certain proportions in architecture, color patterns, and artistic literary work are without any *Einfühlung*. Therefore, it cannot be an essential part of aesthetic pleasure.[1]

A modern philosopher of the same mental structure as Saint Bonaventure is Hegel.[2] There is one type of philosopher who interests himself in physical and efficient causality, and to this class belongs Saint Thomas; there is another type that attends more to exemplary and ideal causality, and among these are found Saint Bonaventure and Hegel.[3] In the case of the second group, the world is, above all, the expression and reflection of the supreme Art, and what awakens admiration in those who study its constitution is not so much the admirable equilibrity of its forces as the harmony of its lines. Saint Bonaventure, Hegel, and, in general, those philosophers who have Platonic tendencies, belong to this group. These take ideas for the subject of their speculations. History becomes an evolution of ideas and the study of nature, a contemplation of form, as an artist would treat a work of art. It is not the material employed, but the idea expressed which interests him.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

[2] Fr. Grégoire de Tours, "Hégel et Saint Bonaventure," *Études Franciscaines*, Tome XII (juillet-décembre 1904), Paris, Librairie Vve. Ch. Poussielgue, pp. 143—148.

[3] . . . à notre avis, Hégel et S. Bonaventure, ayant même structure mentale, doivent être, aujourd'hui, étudiés l'un par l'autre. . . . Tout les deux, disons-nous, ont une mentalité construite sur le même plan, ils se sont fait de l'objet philosophique: Dieu, l'homme, le monde, le même concept. . . . Et n'est-ce pas le caractère de la philosophie thomiste où toute théorie, en tous ordres, est l'écho des notions d'acte et de puissance, et de leurs rapports? où toute action, tout acte est appelé mouvement, décrit, analysé, jugé comme tel? Une autre manière de philosopher est celle de ces penseurs que, laissant à d'autres la recherche des causes physiques et efficientes, s'adonnent plutôt à l'étude de la causalité idéale et exemplaire. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[4] Pour eux, le monde est avant tout l'expression et le reflet de l'art suprême, et ce que, dans l'étude de sa constitution, éveille leur admiration est moins l'équilibre de ses forces que l'harmonie de ses lignes. Tous les philosophes aux tendances platoniciennes sont de cette école. . . . Hégel

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When Saint Bonaventure stated that things have a triple existence, — in God, in themselves, and in the human mind, he was summing up a science of ideas which later Hegel was to incorporate into his own system. It suffices to remember what a large part exemplarism played in the Bonaventurean system; then it is obvious that Hegel's interest in the idea and its manifestations in history and nature bears a great similarity, although the one ends by addressing the Void, the other, the Verbum.[1] Hegel seeks the idea; Saint Bonaventure the Idea of Someone.

In our own day, a distinguished aesthetician, E. I. Watkin, has

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est, c'est évident, un Philosophe de la second manière. . . . Ainsi, l'histoire au regard du spéculatif, c'est ni plus ni moins, une évolution d'idées, c'est l'idée, se développant sous forme d'actions et de rédactions humaines à travers la marche cadencée des années et siècles. Et l'étude de la nature est traitée comme l'artiste une oeuvre d'art. Ce qui l'interesse, ce n'est pas la nature ou la qualité des matériaux employés, c'est la forme, c'est l'idée exprimé. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[1] Pour Hégel donc la science se résume dans la connaissance des idées. S'il étudie le monde c'est moins pour connaître ce qui est que pour acquérir des idées, féconder son esprit et reproduire en soi suivant les lois de l'éternelle logique le grand monde du dehors. Que le Docteur Séraphique ait les mêmes tendances, il suffit pour s'en convaincre encore de remarquer la place que l'exemplarisme tient en son oeuvre. Bonaventure sans doute ne dédaigne aucunement les causes efficientes, mais manifestement il aime surtout à rapporter les choses à leurs causes exemplaires. Ce lien, tout idéal, tout logique, hégélien, dirai-je, qui unit à son modéle, à l'idée, la copie, l'intéresse autrement que le lien tout physique, matériel qui, par ailleurs, unit les choses comme producteur et produit. Et c'est ici qu'apparaît, manifeste et sublime, la supériorité du génie catholique sur le profane. Hégel recherche l'idée, et partout en poursuit la manifestation; mais, il s'arrête là; S. Bonaventure, lui, recherche l'idée de quelqu'un, le mystique complète l'intellectuel. Au delà des lignes mathématiques, derrière le cadre intellectuel des choses, et sous leur forme idéale, le Séraphique contemple, lumineuses, les divines idées de son Verbe. . . . Les Hégeliens, il est vrai, finissent par s'adresser au Vide; mais S. Bonaventure, qui connaît la très réelle et divine Personne qui a semé les formes à travers le monde salue, dans l'idée chrétienne, la cause sublime, suivant laquelle incessamment se moule notre grand univers. C'est là ce qu'avait admirablement compris ce génie d'artiste que fut le franciscain S. Bonaventure. *Ibid.*, pp. 147—148.

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drawn very near the Bonaventurean aesthetic position in *The Bow in the Clouds.*[1] There are familiar echoes of the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum,* as Watkin takes the reader up through the seven levels of experience to the ecstatic mystical union with God in the realms of religion. Following Saint Augustine,[2] he says of man that *as spectator he is enlightened by God, as participant, he is gladdened.* This duality is found in all experience, not exclusively in religious, because God is everywhere expressing and communicating Himself, says Watkin, in and by His creatures. He sees man as both a spectator and a participant. In the positive sciences and in metaphysics, contemplative union with the object will dominate; in biology, sex, and religion, the concrete and more direct union. Art he places as an intermediate, more concrete than the one, more abstract than the other. In the aesthetic experience there is not a concrete union, but only one with the form of the object, yet this form is embodied in a concrete and individual object.[3] Like Saint Bonaventure and the Franciscan School, Watkin places love above knowledge in the three most intense and concentrated unions with concrete reality, the three preeminently ecstatic forms of human experience — art, sex, religion. Art is a synthesis of natural life and spiritual love, which he considers, at least implicitly religious, occupying the borderline between natural and spiritual life. In his eyes, the artist, the lover, and the mystic or saint, are the three supreme classes of men.[4]

Of what use, it may be asked, is the study of beauty? Friedrich Schiller has responded that the aesthetic education of man is important because art is the only kind of communication which is able to unite society. Since man is a composite, what appeals only to his spiritual nature, or what appeals only to his sensuous nature separates him within himself, and also separates him from the rest of society. Sense-pleasure one enjoys as an individual; intellectual

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[1] E. I. Watkin, *The Bow in the Clouds, An Essay towards the Integration of Experience,* New York, The Macmillan Company, 1932.

[2] *De Civitate, Dei,* XI, XXIV, 41. Quoted by Watkin, *op. cit.,* p. 10.

[3] Watkin, *op. cit.,* p. 11.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 97.

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knowledge, as a race. In the pleasure of beauty alone are the two combined. This state of beauty exists in every finely harmonized soul.[1]

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[1] Friedrich Schiller, "Letter upon the Aesthetical Education of Man," in *Basic Problems of Philosophy*, by Daniel J. Bronstein, Yervant H. Krikorian, and Philip P. Wiener, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947, pp. 467—469.

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CHAPTER I

BEAUTY AND THE BEAUTIFUL: THEIR CONSTITUENTS AND EFFECTS

For Saint Bonaventure, beauty was a transcendental attribute of being, following the one, the true, and the good. A recently discovered manuscript, bearing the signature of Saint Bonaventure, shows beyond any doubt that he did so consider it.[1] What the manuscript confirms can be found elsewhere. In the *Commentary on the Sentences* Saint Bonaventure says that whatever possesses being will likewise possess a certain form, and everything that possesses form will possess beauty also as a necessary consequent following upon the form that gives it being. The etymology of the word *formosa*, meaning beautiful, signifies the basic element of form. He declares: *Omne quod est ens, habet aliquam formam; omne autem quod habet aliquam formam, habet pulcritudinem.* Whatever has being has form,

[1] The manuscript was found by P. Henquinet, who published his discovery in *Les études franciscaines* (1932—1933). Dom Henri Pouillon refers to the manuscript in "La Beauté, propriété transcendantale chez les scolastiques (1120—1270)," *Archives d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale du moyen age*, vol. XV, 1946, pp. 264—320, "Saint Bonaventure." The text of the manuscript was given by Dom Pouillon to Edgar de Bruyne, who published it in *Etudes d'esthétique médiévale*, vol. III, "Le XIII^e siècle," *De Tempel* Tempelhof, 51, Brugge, 1946, pp. 190—191. The number of the manuscript is 51 c, and will be referred to as "M. 51 c" in the following pages. In a letter which the author received from Dom Pouillon in reference to the advisability of procuring a photostatic copy of the manuscript, he said that he had read the entire manuscript and that everything of importance that it contained was included in the two works mentioned above, and that a photostatic copy was entirely unnecessary. The judgment of such an eminent scholar need not be questioned.

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and whatever has form has beauty.[1] In another place he shows how closely related are the good and the beautiful. Just as everything that is, is good, so likewise everything that is, is also beautiful. All good and all beauty have their source in the goodness of God. In the case of the visible world, all things that one can see are, consequently, good and beautiful. *Omne bonum et pulcrum est a Deo bono; sed omnia visibilia bona sunt et pulcra.*[2] Yet the manuscript *M. 51 c* states more clearly and definitely than anywhere else in Saint Bonaventure's writings the relations between the transcendentals.

The four transcendental attributes of being — unity, truth, goodness, and beauty — are founded on the nature of being. They add a certain richness to the concept, depending upon one's point of view. They all presuppose the intelligibility of being in which they share, and in this sharing, they also presuppose one another. Beauty presupposes the good, and the good presupposes the true; the true, in turn, presupposes the one. The one, however, is identified with being itself. The one points out that the union of matter and form is of such a nature that it forms an indivisible unit, and shows that what exists cannot be separated from that by which it exists — its constitutive principles, and this characteristic makes the one distinct from the other. It is the basis of individuality.[3] The transcendental

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[1] II S. 34, 2, 3, 6 (II 814). The authoritative, critical Quaracchi edition of Saint Bonaventure's works has been used. Volume and page are indicated in parentheses. In some cases the 1941 minor edition of the *Four Books of Sentences* was consulted because of convenience. Except for the Scholia which are omitted, the minor edition is identically the same as the major edition. The minor edition of the *Tria Opuscula: Breviloquium, Itinerarium, et De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*, Quaracchi, 1938, has also frequently been used. The manuscript used for the Delorme edition of the *Collationes in Hexaemeron* proved so unsatisfactory in a number of cases that it was rejected in favor of the Quaracchi edition. There is considerable discrepancy between them.

[2] II S. 1, 1, 2, 1 (II 26).

[3] M. 51 c. Respondeo dicendum quod istae conditiones fundantur super ens. Addunt enim aliquam rationem. Unde verum, unum, bonum, pulchrum praesupponunt intellectum entis in quo communicant et rursus haec invicem praeintelligunt se. Nam pulchram praeintelligit bonum et bonum verum et verum unum: unum autem ipsum ens. Quod patet quod ens

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property of truth considers that whatever is must be what it is, and it will be true in so far as it conforms to what the nature of the being demands that it be, and to the degree of perfection to which its nature is constituted in the Divine plan. The consideration of being under the aspect of good brings forward the fact that whatever is, is good in so far as it is; that is, being is good in so far as it reduces to act the potentialities of its nature.[1]

From the point of view of causality, it can be said that the one refers to efficient causality, the true to formal causality, and the good to final causality. But the beautiful embraces all these causes. For a being to be considered beautiful in the fullest sense of the word, it must be as fully in act as possible, by which it will be good; it must conform to what its nature demands that it be, by which it will be true, and it must be unique, one.[2] This answers objections proposed from Dionysius and Saint Augustine. According to the former, beauty is both a final cause and an exemplary cause, since it equally attracts all and gives it form; according to the latter, beauty is a harmony of parts with the suavity of color. Both of these objections have a measure of truth; the universal extension of beauty was Dionysius' contribution; Saint Augustine's definition is perfect for material beauty, but lacks a universal application.[3]

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dicit absolutum. Unum addit indivisionem formae a materia sive quod est quo est.

[1] Bonum autem dicit indivisionem potentiae ad actu. *Ibid.*

[2] Unde unum respicit causam efficientem, verum formalem, bonum autem finalem secundum appropriationem; et pulchrum circuit omnem causam. *Ibid.*

[3] Cum assignantur quattuor conditiones entis communiter scilicet unum, verum, bonum et pulchrum quaeritur qualiter distinguuntur . . . Quaeritur postea de comparatione boni et pulchri et videtur quod non differunt. Dionysius (enim dicit): "Pulchrum est diligibile ut finaiis causa: propter decorem enim omnia facta, et exemplaris causa quia secundum ipsum omnia distinguuntur." Si igitur verum respicit causam exemplarem, bonum finalem et pulchrum utramque, ergo a neutro distinguuntur (pulchrum et bonum, pulchrum et verum). Sed contra Augustinus: "Pulchritudo est partium congruentia cum coloris suavitate." Ergo ubi non sunt partes, nec pulchrum. Ergo non convertitur (pulcrum) cum vero et bono. Respondeo dicendum . . ." *Ibid.*

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Saint Bonaventure incorporates both the universal extension of Dionysius and Saint Augustine's interest in *congruentia*, or harmony, into his aesthetic. According to Saint Bonaventure, there is an external beauty, limited to the exterior, physical aspects, and there is also the internal beauty of a metaphysical nature with a universal extension, including both material and spiritual being. Whether one speaks of physical or metaphysical beauty, the essence of both will be the same, that is, harmony, or proportion. This is seen in a three-fold application: harmony of parts results in physical beauty; harmony of ideas and metaphysical principles produce an intellectual beauty; and in God, since He possesses not only intellectual beauty in the highest degree, but also the supreme harmony of order, in Him is the highest beauty.[1]

What the newly discovered manuscript clinches as an established principle of Saint Bonaventure's thought is that beauty is considered as a fourth transcendental attribute of being. He pushed the distinction further than any of his predecessors or contemporaries, including Saint Thomas Aquinas. Earlier members of the Franciscan School were undoubtedly of the same opinion and hinted that the concept of beauty was universal, especially Robert of Grosseteste and Thomas of York, as well as John de la Rochelle, who preceded them.[2] Neither Saint Thomas nor Saint Albert recognised the beautiful as a transcendental until after they had read and been influenced by *De Divinis Nominibus* of the Pseudo-Dionysius.[3]

Saint Bonaventure had a definite idea of what constituted the beautiful. Beauty can be found wherever reality is, because beauty

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[1] M. 51 c. Ad illud quod obicitur quod pulchrum est solum in corporibus respondetur dupliciter. Primo modo quod est pulchrum ad exterius et pulchrum ad interius: prima (pulchritudo) est in corporibus et hanc definit Augustinus, secunda est in omnibus et haec ad omnia se extendit: hanc quidem non aliter definit (Augustinus). Aliter dici potest quod est congruentia partium, est congruentia rationum, est congruentia ordinis. Prima est pulchritudo in corporalibus, secunda in substantiis spiritualibus creatis . . . et in Deo est summa congruentia ordinis et summa congruentia rationum: ideo est summa pulchritudo. *Ibid.*

[2] Dom Henri Pouillon, O.S.B., *op. cit.*, p. 263—329.

[3] *Ibid.*

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belongs to the order of formal causality, and where there is being, there must be form, and hence beauty.[1] Again, there is the love of order and systemization in Saint Bonaventure, a distinctly aesthetic note, for he says that beauty consists in order.[2] One of the most frequently reiterated definitions of beauty according to Saint Bonaventure is derived from Saint Augustine. *Beauty is nothing other than a numbered equality, or a certain situation of parts, accompanied by the suavity of color.*[3] This definition, when taken literally with the complement of color, can apply only to the material. Considered as numbered equality, it refers to all reality, material and spiritual, finite and infinite. Even the Blessed Trinity is included, comprising a notion of three-in-one. Saint Bonaventure attached great importance to number. He called number the chief exemplar in the mind of God the Creator and Artificer, and in things, the chief footprint leading to wisdom. He arrived at this conclusion from the consideration that all things are beautiful and in a certain way delightful. But since beauty and delight can not exist apart from proportion, and since proportion is found primarily in numbers, one can conclude that all things are *numerosa* — full of numbers. Moreover, as number can be found everywhere and is very near God, number should have the power to lead us close to Him who thus makes Himself known to us in all corporeal and sensible things.[4] The Blessed Trinity itself

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[1] Omne quod est ens, habet aliquam formam; omne autem, quod habet aliquam formam, habet pulcritudinem. II S. 34, 2, 3 (II 814).

[2] Pulcritudo consistit in ordine. II S. 9, 1, 6 (II 252).

[3] Pulcritudo nihil aliud est quam aequalitas numerosa, seu quidam partium situs cum coloris suavitate. *Itiner. Mentis in Deum*, 5; min. ed. pp. 306—307. Taken from Saint Augustine, *VI de Musica*, 13, 38.

[4] Cum igitur omnia sint pulcra et quodam modo delectabilia; et pulcritudo et delectatio non sint absque proportione; et proportio primo sit in numeris: necesse est, omnia esse numerosa; ac per hoc "numerus est praecipuum in animo Conditoris exemplar" et in rebus praecipuum vestigium ducens in Sapientiam. Quod cum sit omnibus evidentissimum, et Deo propinquissimum, propinquissime quasi per septem differentias ducit in Deum et facit eum cognosci in cunctis corporalibus et sensibilibus, dum numerosa apprehendimus, in numerosis proportionibus delectamur. *Itiner. Mentis in Deum* II, 10; min. ed., pp. 311—312. See also *Quaestiones*

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becomes the model of all beauty, consisting, as it does, of plurality and equality. Here is found a unity of Essence with a Trinity of Persons. In this supreme Hierarchy, because of its supreme perfection there is found both the beauty of the most perfect equality and the similitude of equals.[1] Divine beauty is a hierarchy, simple, best, and most complete, according to the definition of Dionysius.[2] For beauty consists in plurality and equality, as Saint Augustine points out in *De Vera Religione*.[3] It can be shown, nevertheless, that plurality does not precede unity, because this hierarchy is given as simple, and one cannot insert a plurality that would remove the simplicity of unity. On the other hand, it is equally obvious that unity cannot precede plurality because this hierarchy is of the highest order, considered as best, and although there is unity in God, there is also the highest goodness, through which there is perfect communication and thus a plurality of persons. Lastly, since the perfection of plurality consists in unity, and the perfection of unity, in plurality, divine beauty is achieved and consummated. Thus the highest and most complete perfection consists in a trinity and unity.[4] In God there

Disputatae, "De Scientia Christi," Quaest. III, 8 (V 11); ibid. 8 (V 12); ibid. 8 concl. (V 15).

[1] In suprema hierarchia propter summam perfectionem reperitur et pulchritudo ex perfectissima aequalitate et similitudine parium. II S. 9, 1, 8; min. ed., p. 256.

[2] Sciendum est igitur, quod ipsius hierarchiae beatus Dionysius tres ponit definitiones, in libro De angelica hierarchia (*De caelest. hier.* c. 3, 1 sq. PG 3, 163 sqq.), quarum prima haec est: "Hierarchia est divina pulcritudo ut simpla, ut optima, ut consummata vel consummativa." II S. 9, Praenotata; min. ed., p. 234.

[3] Cap. 30, n. 56 (PL 34, 146 sq.).

[4] Primo autem definitio, quae est hierarchiae increatae, exprimit ipsam quantum ad trinitatem et unitatem, ita quod nec trinitas praeiudicat unitati, nec unitas trinitati; sed unitas spectat ad perfectionem trinitatis, et trinitas unitatis. Ut igitur ostendatur ibi esse unitas in trinitate, dicit: "Hierarchia est divina pulcritudo." Pulcritudo enim consistit in pluralitate et aequalitate, sicut dicit Augustinus in libro De vera religione. Ut autem ostendat quod pluralitas non praeiudicat unitati, dicit *ut simpla*, quia sic est ibi pluralitas, ut tamen non tollatur unitatis simplicitas. Ut enim ostendat quod unitas non praeiudicat pluralitati, subiungit *ut optima*, quia sic est in Deo unitas, ut tamen sit summa bonitas, per quam est per-

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is found too the highest possible harmony of order and the highest possible harmony of nature.[1] Where the absolute unity of the Divine Essence cannot be reached, there is another kind of harmony brought about by a proportionate gradation of disparates, as in the angels.[2]

What makes the beautiful and the more beautiful is beauty itself or species, and this is most beautiful. We see that corporeal things are beautiful, and know that spiritual things are more beautiful; therefore what makes these so is the most beautiful.[3] In all philosophy there is understood as a foundation for thought a reduction to ultimate causes. Thus all mutable things are reduced to the immutable, because in a thing that moves there is no efficient causality within itself except in that which, in moving another, is not moved itself, or, Aristotle said, *All that is moved is moved by another.* Similarly, the good and the better are reduced to the best, because there is no finality except in the best. Likewise, the beautiful and the more beautiful are reduced to the most beautiful, because there is no finality in species or form except in that which is itself species in essence.[4]

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fecta communicatio, et sic personarum pluralitas, per quam est perfecta communicatio, et sic personarum pluralitas. Postremo, ut ostendat quod unitas spectat ad perfectionem pluralitatis, et e converso subdit *ut consummata* in quo significatur quod in trinitate et unitate consistit omnimoda et summa perfectio. II S. 9 Praenotata; min. ed. p. 234.

[1] . . . in Deo est summa congruentia ordinis et summa congruentia rationum: ideo est summa pulchritudo. M. 51 c.

[2] . . . sic in angelica reperitur pulchritudo perfecta ex quadam gradatione disparium. II S. 9, 1, 8; min. ed., p. 256.

[3] Quia fecit pulcra et pulcriora, est ipsa pulcritudo sive species, et hoc est speciosissimum; sed videmus, corporalis esse speciosa, et spiritualia est speciosiora: ergo qui facit haec, est speciosissimus. I S. 3, 1, 3, Dubia 1 (I 77).

[4] . . . in tota philosophia supponitur status in causis; et ideo omne mutabile reducitur ad immutabile, quia in mutabili non est status in genere efficientis nisi in movente non moto: omne enim quod movetur, ab alio movetur. (Aristot. VII Phys. text. 1 et 3). Similiter bonum et melius reducuntur ad optimum, quia non est status in genere finis nisi in optimo. Similiter pulcrum et pulcrius ad pulcherrimum, quia non est status in genere speciei et formae, nisi in eo quod est ipsa species per essentiam. *Ibid.*

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Beauty, while it delights, does not fully satisfy, but leads one to seek further on.[1] For delight to be experienced, there is needed the presence of what is delightful and its union with the one delighted. But everything that delights the soul does so by reason of the good and the beautiful. Because God alone is Goodness itself and Beauty itself, in Him alone is perfect delight.[2] This can be explained by the beauty that lies in the virtues. Virtues have beauty by which they delight and allure us. Yet they cannot be rested in as an end, for if that were done, they would lose their beauty. Such was Saint Augustine's meaning when he said that virtues referred to themselves become proud and inflated. The reason for this is as follows. Although virtue is a *bonum honestum* as opposed to a *bonum utile*, that is, a good considered in itself, without reference to use, it is not a pure good, such as would perfectly delight and quiet, signified by the word *fruor*. Virtues are similitudes of a pure *bonum*, and as such, delight, but they do not give rest in themselves; instead, they lead us on to the source of the good and the beautiful.[3]

Saint Bonaventure stresses the rationality of beauty, asserting that it is knowledge that renders a work beautiful, while it is the will that renders it useful, and perseverance that renders it stable.

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[1] . . . aut sistitur in pulchritudine creaturae, aut per illam tenditur in aliud. Si primo modo tunc est via deviationis. I S. 3, 1, 1 (I 81).

[2] Ad delectationem enim concurrit delectabile et coniunctio eius cum eo quod delectatur. Omne autem, quod delectat animam, delectat in ratione boni et pulcri; et quoniam solus Deus est ipsa bonitas et pulcritudo, ideo in Deo solo est perfecta delectatio. I S. 1, 3, 2; min. ed., pp. 29—30.

[3] Ad illud quod obiicitur de virtute, quod virtus est bonum honestum, dicendum quod bonum honestum dicitur dupliciter: aut quod est pure bonum, aut in quo relucet eius similitudo. Primo modo honesto est fruendum proprie accepto frui, quia hoc solum terminat et quietat. Secundo modo non nisi communiter accipiatur, prout dicit delectationem. Huiusmodi enim propter assimilationem ad Deum habent pulcritudinem, qua nos delectant et alliciunt; tamen in ipsis non est quiescendum, quia tunc amittunt pulcritudinem, quia "virtutes, cum ad se referuntur, superbae sunt et inflatae." (August. *De Divit. Dei*, XIX, c. 25 (PL 41, 656). I S. 1, 3, 2 ad 4; min. ed., p. 30.

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The first resides in the rational power; the second, in the concupiscible; and the third, in the irascible.[1]

The beautiful, then, is the object of the rational power of the soul; the concupiscible power seeks the sweet, the irascible, the exalted. But both beauty and sweetness can be understood in a two-fold way, that is, either as that which perfects and relates to its individual form, that is, perfective and informative, or else as a motive force. The first mode stands for the notion of end as end and thus there can be many according to the diversity of gifts which the soul has received. But the second mode stands for the notion of object and motive and this has unity. For in God, beauty, loftiness, and sweetness are the same, and this stands for the notion of principal end. Otherwise one could not love God with one's whole heart. From the point of view of beauty alone, then, it can be said that it arises from the form, by which it is *formosa*, beautiful, and also it is an object to which the soul is drawn as to an end by the rational power, and whose final object and end is the beauty of God.[2]

Beauty is universally loved, both external beauty, and the far lovelier internal, spiritual beauty.[3] The contemplation of the beautiful transforms one into beauty under the action of love. The effect of love is to change one into that which one loves: if the soul turns itself

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[1] Scientia reddit opus pulcrum, voluntas reddit utile, perseverantia reddit stabile. Primum est in rationali, secundum in concupiscibili, tertium in irascibili. *De Red. Art. ad Theol.* 13; min. ed., p. 277.

[2] Item, sicut concupiscibilis appetit dulcedinem, ita irascibilis appetit celsitudinem, et rationalis appetit pulcritudinem. . . . Pulcritudo et dulcedo potest dupliciter accipi: aut prout est perfectiva et informativa virtutis animae, aut prout est ipsius animae motiva. Primo modo tenet rationem finis sub fine, et sic plurificari potest secundum diversitatem dotum animae; secundo modo prout scilicet tenet rationem obiecti et motivi, sic unitatem habet. Nam in Deo idem est pulcritudo, celsitudo et dulcedo; et sic tenet rationem finis principalis. Et sic patet, quod quamvis plures fines non principalis contingat constituere, tamen ad hoc quod voluntas sit bona, necesse est, unum solum finem esse principalem. Nam aliter non diligitur Deum ex toto corde. II S. 38, 1, 3 (II 884).

[3] Multi sunt, qui amant pulcritudinem; pulcritudo autem non est in exterioribus, sed ipsius effigies; vero autem pulcritudo est in illa pulcritudine sapientiae. *Coll. in Hexaem.* XX, 24 (V 429).

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upon the hideous, it will turn into hideousness; but if it turns in love to the beautiful, it will be transformed into beauty.[1] This is because beauty has the intrinsic power of stimulating love in the one who beholds it, so that one cannot see the beautiful without loving it, and by loving it, the soul becomes that which it loves.[2]

When explaining the different levels of the unitive life in the *De Triplici Via*, Saint Bonaventure mentions how the various attributes of the Heavenly Bridegroom affect the vigilant soul who has arrived at that state of perfection. The beauty of the Bridegroom quiets the soul because of the complacency with which it is thereby filled. This is in contrast to the effects produced by the other attributes: confidence confirms because of His certitude; desire inflames because of His sweetness; exaltation lifts up because of His loftiness; joy inebriates because of the plenitude of His love; steadfastness makes the soul cleave to Him because of His strength.[3]

For delight to be experienced, as was said above, there is needed a union of what is delightful with the person delighted — the object with the subject, and everything that delights the soul, does so by reason of the good and the beautiful. This can be further explained. Pleasure follows the apprehension of an appropriate thing. A sense is delighted in an object through the similitude abstracted by per-

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[1] . . . Si anima convertit se super foedum per amorem, transformatur in foeditatem; si supra pulcrum, in pulcritudinem . . . *Sermo de Tempore, Dominica XIV. Post Pentecosten.* I (IX 408).

[2] . . . Pulcritudo naturaliter attrahit animum ad amorem. IV S. 30, Dubia 6 (IV 713).

[3] Gradus viae unitivae sic distinguuntur te vigilantia sollicitet propter Sponsi promptitudinem; te confidentia corroboret propter eius certitudinem; concupiscentia te inflammet propter eius dulcedinem; excedentia te sublevet propter eius celsitudinem; complacentia te quietat propter eius pulcritudinem; laetitia te inebriet propter amoris eius plenitudinem; adhaerentia te conglutinet propter amoris eius fortitudinem, ut dicat semper devota anima in corde suo ad Dominum. *De Triplici Via* 3, 5, 8 (VIII 15). In the same work there is another almost identical quotation: Quinto, ut complacentia te quietet propter Sponsi pulcritudinem adeo, ut possis dicere illud sponsae (Cant. 2, 16 et deinde 5, 10): Dilectus meus mihi, et ego illi; et illud: Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus, electus ex millibus. *Ibid.* 4, 6 (VIII 14).

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ception, whether by reason of its beauty, as in sight, or of suavity, as in smell and hearing, or salubrity, as in taste and touch. But all delight is according to the ratio of proportionality, that is, there must be a proportionality between the capacity of the subject and the influence of the object. The ratio of the beautiful, the suave, and the salubrious is found in a proportion of equality. This is accomplished by means of the species, understood, first, as the luminous form of the object, secondly, in respect to the medium that it modifies whereby it influences directly the sense organ, and thirdly, as the change that it produces in the subject. In the sense of sight, pleasure is experienced when the abstracted similitude or species is proportionate to the object, when it is proportionate to the capacity of the eye, when it is proportionate within itself. When these conditions are fulfilled, the similitude is called *speciosa*, or beautiful. Saint Bonaventure aptly quotes again here Saint Augustine's definitions of beauty: *Pulcritudo nihil aliud est quam aequalitas numerosa*, and *Quidam partium situs cum coloris suavitate.*[1]

Proportion is needed also with respect to power or strength, and when perceived by the senses of hearing and smell, produce an effect of suavity. For the acting power then does not exceed the capacity of the recipient by a lack of proportionality; if it had done so, pleasure would not have resulted, because a sense is depressed by excess, and finds pleasure in moderation.[2]

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[1] Ad hanc apprehensionem, si sit rei convenientis, sequitur oblectatio. Delectatur autem sensus in obiectum par similitudinem abstractam percepto vel ratione speciositatis, sicut in visu, vel ratione suavitatis, sicut in ordoratu et auditu, vel ratione salubritatis, sicut in gustu et tactu, appropriate loquendo. Omnis autem delectatio est ratione proportionalitatis. Sed quoniam species tenet rationem formae, virtutis et operationis, secundum quod habet respectum ad principium, a quo manat, ad medium, per quod transit, et ad terminum, in quem agit; ideo proportionalitas aut attenditur in similitudine, secundum quod tenet rationem speciei seu formae, et sic dicitur speciositas. *Itiner. Mentis in Deum* II, 5; min. ed. p. 306. (St. August. *VI De Musica*, c. 13, n. 38).

[2] Aut attenditur proportionalitas, in quantum tenet rationem potentiae seu virtutis et sic dicitur suavitas,cum virtus agens non improportionaliter excedit recipientem, quia sensus tristatur in extremis et in mediis delectatur.

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Finally, proportion is found to be also the foundation of pleasure which a subject experiences in regard to efficacy and impression, because what produces the effect or the impression should satisfy the need of the subject, and in this way the subject is preserved and nourished. This pleasure is found chiefly in the senses of taste and touch. In these ways exterior delights enter our souls through similitudes and give us pleasure.[1]

The delight experienced in the presence of the beautiful is spontaneous and without reflection. Only afterwards does there follow an act of the intellect inquiring why these objects produce their pleasant effects and what constitutes the pleasure that results from their perception. That is, it does not inquire whether this thing is white or black, because that would pertain to a particular sense, or whether this thing is healthful or harmful, because that would pertain to the interior sense. It is the ratio of pleasure which is sought, and this is found to consist in a proportion of equality, a *proportio aequalitatis*, in the case of each source of delight: the beautiful, the suave, and the salubrious. But a ratio of equality does not depend upon size, so that both large things and small can equally produce the ensuing pleasure.[2] It is not extended by dimensions, does not pass away with transitory things, nor is it altered by motions.

This is a point where Saint Bonaventure differs from Saint Thomas. The latter proposes that an element of grandeur is needed for an object to be considered beautiful. That which is small, in his

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Itiner. Mentis in Deum II, 5; min. ed. p. 307. Delectatio est coniunctio convenientis cum convenienti. I S. 1, 3, 1; min. ed., p. 27.

[1] Aut attenditur, in quantum tenet rationem efficaciae et impressionis, quae tunc est proportionalis, quando agens imprimendo replet indigentiam patientis, et hoc est salvare et nutrire ipsum, quod maxime apparet in gustu et tactu. Et sic per oblectationem delectabilia exteriora secundum triplicem rationem delectandi per similitudinem intrant in animam. *Itiner. Mentis in Deum*, II, 5; min. ed., p. 307.

[2] Hoc est autem cum quaeritur ratio pulcri, suavis et salubris; et invenitur, quod haec est proportio aequalitatis. Ratio autem aequalitatis est eadem in magnis et parvis nec extenditur dimensionibus nec succedit seu transit cum transeuntibus nec motibus alteratur. *Ibid.*, II, 6; min. ed., p. 308.

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estimation, cannot be so. Saint Bonaventure, on the contrary, rejects dimensions of any kind. The measurements of extension, of succession, of time, of motion, are all excluded. Proportion abstracts from place, time, and motion, and thus takes on the attributes of immutability, illimitability, interminability, and spirituality. Thus by the act of discernment, the sensible perceptions of pleasure in beauty, suavity, and salubrity become spiritual concepts of the intellect. Thus through the gates of the five senses the whole of this world enters the mind.[1]

A material thing, consequently, can be said to be beautiful and to give pleasure when it has the triple note of proportion: in the inter-relation of its parts within itself, in its relation to the sense organ which receives its impression, and in the intellect that perceives the adequation between the similitude that it holds and the thing itself.

Thus it can be said truly that the beautiful delights; and the greater the beauty, the greater the delight. Therefore, the greatest beauty will evoke the greatest delight.[2] There is a distinction between sense pleasure and intellectual pleasure, first in regard to the apprehending power, then in regard to the object, and finally in regard to the mode of apprehending.[3] Considering the apprehending power, it appears that the senses can be corrupted, but not the intellect.

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[1] Abstrahit igitur a loco, tempore et motu, ac per hoc est incommutabilis, incircumscriptibilis, interminabilis et omnino spiritualis. Diiudicatio igitur est actio, quae speciem sensibilem, sensibiliter per sensus acceptam, introire facit depurando et abstrahendo in potentiam intellectivam. Et sic totus iste mundus introire habet in animam humanam per portas sensuum secundum tres operationes praedictas. *Itiner. Mentis in Deum* II, 6; min. ed., p. 308.

Saint Bonaventure's treatment of the ratio of the beautiful, the suave, and the salubrious is very well discussed by Edgar de Bruyne in his recent work in three volumes on medieval aesthetics: *Études d'esthétique médiévale*, Brugge, *De Tempel* Tempelhof, 1946, vol. III, pp. 192—194.

[2] Pulcrum delectat et magis pulcrum magis delectat, ergo summe pulcrum summe delectat. I S. 1, 3, 1; min. ed., p. 27.

[3] Ad illud quod obiicitur, quod excellentia sensibilis corrumpit sensum: dicendum quod non est simile de intelligere et sentire. Et ad hoc est triplex ratio: una est ex parte virtutis apprehensivae, alia ex parte apprehensi sive obiecti, tertia est ex parte modi apprehendendi. *Ibid.*, pp. 27—28.

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Sensible excellence corrupts the senses, or at least distresses them, because sense pleasure depends upon the sense organ in which there is a certain balance and harmony, not disturbed so much by the contrary as by excellence. But intellectual pleasure does not depend upon a sense organ because its power is immaterial, and thus it is not oppressed by excellence.[1]

Considering their respective objects, there appears again dissimilarity, because the intellectual object assists and comforts, for a cognoscible influence proceeds from the interior and penetrates its own power, thereby comforting and helping itself. This can be understood better by a comparison. If a great mountain were to give the power of carrying itself, it could be more easily carried than a smaller one. So it is in the case of the intellectual object, of which God is the greatest. The sensible object, however, coming as it does from without, excites, and therefore corrupts.[2]

Lastly, the modes of apprehending the intellectual object and the sensible object are not the same. A sense, in apprehending its object, tends to the exterior, and by so doing, is scattered in the exterior, and not strengthened in the interior; thus it is weakened. But the intellectual object, since it is contained within the intellect itself, does not scatter its strength in the perception of its object, so that it is even more collected, and in so far as its strength becomes more united, so much the more is it strong.[3]

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[1] Ex parte virtutis apprehensivae, quia sensus potest corrumpi, intellectus autem non. Cuius ratio est quia sensus dependet ab organo, in quo est quaedam medietas et harmonia, quae non tantum corrumpitur per contrarium, sed per excellens; sed intellectus non dependet ab organo ,quia est vis immaterialis, ideo non tristatur in excellenti. *Ibid.*

[2] Ex parte obiecti non est simile, quia obiectum intelligibile excellens iuvat et confortat, quia influentia talis cognoscibilis procedit ab intimis et intrat ipsam potentiam, et ideo ipsam confortat et corroborat. Sicut si magnus mons daret virtutem portandi se, facilius ferretur quam parvus; sic est intelligibili, quod Deus est. Sensibile autem obiectum tantum extra excitat, et ideo hoc corrumpit, illud autem non. *Ibid.*

[3] Ex parte modi apprehendendi similiter est dissimilitudo quia sensus in apprehensione sui obiecti tendit ad exterius, unde percipiendo illud dispergitur exterius nec fortificatur interius, ideo debilitatur. Sed obiectum

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There is a double basis upon which the beauty of an image may be judged, and in this respect the reference of a beautiful image to its model differs from the reference of honor. The honor paid to an image or picture is referred to the prototype because honor is not due it because of itself, as in clear when an image of Saint Nicholas is venerated. In this case, it is the Saint himself and not the image to which the respect is given. If it is a question of beauty, instead of honor, the case is different. Although beauty is referred to the prototype, nevertheless, there may be beauty in the image itself, not only in that of which it is an image. There is, then, a two-fold notion of beauty: when the image is well drawn, and when it represents well him of whom it is an image. These are two distinctly different notions of beauty, and one suffices without the other for an image to be considered beautiful.[1] An understanding of the foregoing illustrates why Saint Hilary appropriates species or beauty to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity under the title of Image, more than he would under the title Son.[2]

Saint Bonaventure objects to the identification that Dionysius makes of the good and the beautiful, and adds a distinction. The

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intellectus cum sit intimum ipsi intellectui, in eius perceptione virtus non dispergitur, sed colligitur, et quanto virtus est magis unita, tanto fortior. *Ibid.*

[1] Ad illud ergo quod obiicitur, quod pulcritudo imaginis refertur ad prototypum, dicendum quod verum est, sed tamen aliter refertur honor, aliter pulcritudo: quia honor imaginis sive picturae ita refertur ad prototypum, quod in ipsa non est secundum se honor, sicut patet, si honoretur iconia beati Nicolai; sed pulcritudo ita refertur ad prototypum, quod nihilominus est in imagine pulcritudo, non solum in eo cuius est imago. Et potest ibi reperiri duplex ratio pulcritudinis, quamvis in eo cuius est, non nisi una inveniatur. Quod patet, quia imago dicitur pulcra, quando bene protracta est, dicitur etiam pulcra, quando bene repraesentat illum, ad quem est. Et quod ista sit alia ratio pulcritudinis, pate, quia contingit unam esse sine alia: quemadmodum dicitur imago diaboli pulcra, quando bene repraesentat foeditatem diaboli, et tunc foeda est. I S. 31, II, 1, 3; min. ed., p. 433.

[2] Et ideo Hilarius, approprians speciem sive pulcritudinem Filio, magis appropriat sub nomine imaginis quam sub nomine filii. *Ibid.*

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good and the beautiful are found in the same thing. But they are different aspects, and therefore what can be appropriated to one is not, necessarily, to the other.[1]

[1] Ad illud quod obiicitur, quod idem est bonum et pulcrum, dicendum quod Dionysius non vult dicere, quod sint unum ratione, sed quod sint unum re. Sed quoniam ratione differunt, ideo potest alicui appropriari unum, quod non appropriatur alterum. *Ibid.*

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CHAPTER II

THE MATERIAL BEAUTY OF THE WORLD

Anything whatsoever can be considered in three ways: in itself, in comparison with other things of the universe, and in comparison to its end. What one considers when one considers a thing in itself is called *modus;* for anything whatsoever in itself is its own limitation and modification; when it is compared to other things, it is *species* that is considered, by which is understood the beauty of parts according to the position that they have in the whole; when a thing is compared in respect to its relation to the end, it is *ordo* that is understood. For a thing is ordered when it directly tends to its end.[1] This can be further explained.

There are then three ways of considering created things: in themselves, in comparison with other creatures, and in comparison to the First Cause. The consideration of things *in se* shows that their constitutive principles are triple: matter, form, and the composition. Their *habitudines*, derived from the Book of Wisdom, are likewise triple: *numero*, *pondere*, and *mensura*. By *numero* is meant the distinction of principles; by *pondere*, an inclination as to an end; and by *mensura*, a proportionate relation to others, that is, a limitation.[2]

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[1] Quaelibet enim res tripliciter habet considerari, videlicet in se et per comparationem ad alias res universi et in comparatione ad finem. Ut autem in se consideratur, sic attenditur in ea modus; nam unaquaeque res in se ipsa finita est et modificata. Ut autem comparatur ad res alias sic attenditur in ea species, sicut attenditur pulcritudo partium secundum situm, quem habent in toto. Ut autem comparatur in relationem ad finem, sic attenditur in ea ordo; unaquaeque enim res ordinata est, dum directe tendit ad finem, ad quem est. II S. 35, 2, 1 (II 829).

[2] Res creata habet tripliciter considerari: aut in se, aut in comparatione ad alias creaturas, aut in comparatione ad causam primam. Et secundum

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In the relation of one creature to another there are two trinities of action: one, taken from Dionysius, includes respectively the actions resulting from the substance itself, by virtue of its strength, or by way of operation; the other, taken from Saint Augustine, regards spiritual action, by which the creature is constituted to exist with others, by which it harmonizes with others, and by which it is discerned by them.[1] In the relation of creatures to God one can consider them first as referred to the Divinity as such and this will be according to *modus*, *species* and *ordo;* then there is another group, *unitas*, *veritas*, and *bonitas*, through which creatures are brought back to God and made like Him.[2]

Although the material given above may not seem at first to have much reference to an aesthetic, there is contained in it the framework upon which the present work rests. Saint Bonaventure sees in every created thing a vestige, or footprint of God its Creator. When one looks upon the things of the world as created things, which consequently bear the mark of their Creator, they are considered as vestiges, having *modus*, *species* and *ordo*. The word *modus* has the significance, not of manner, but of essence, that which constitutes a thing to be what it is. Then he points out how great a harmony there is between

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hos omnes modos contingit reperire trinitatem dupliciter. Si enim consideretur quantum in se vel quantum ad se, hoc est, aut quantum ad substantiam principiorum; et sic est illa trinitas: materia, forma, compositio, quae ponitur in libro de Regula fidei; aut quantum ad habitudines; et sic est illa, Sapientiae undecimo: *Omnia in numero, pondere et mensura disposuisti.* In numero enim intelligitur principiorum distinctio, in pondere propria ipsorum inclinatio, in mensura eorum ad invicem proportio. I S. 3, 1, dubia 3 (I 79).

[1] Item, si consideretur una creatura in comparatione ad alias creaturas hoc potest esse aut in quantum agit actione naturali; et sic sumitur illa trinitas Dionysii, substantia, virtus, et operatio; aut in quantum agit actione spirituali; et sic illa Augustini, de octoginta tribus Quaestionibus, Quaest. 18, "quo, constat, quo congruit, quo discernitur," et ultimum refertur ad animam. *Ibid.*

[2] Si autem considerentur in comparatione ad Deum, hoc potest esse duplicitur: aut in quantum referuntur tantum; et sic est illa, modus, species et ordo; aut in quantum referuntur et assimilantur; et sic est illa, unitas, veritas et bonitas. *Ibid.*

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the two sets of characteristics in the creature's relation to God, even in respect to a common causality. Thus unity corresponds to *modus* in so far as it looks to God as efficient Cause; truth corresponds to *species* in so far as it looks to Him as exemplary Cause; and goodness corresponds to *ordo* which looks to God as final Cause.[1]

For Saint Bonaventure, as for Saint Augustine, matter is not pure privation or potency, but containing as it does the first and all prevading substantial form of light, it must possess some being, and hence something of good and something of beauty. Saint Augustine also declares that matter has *modum*, *speciem*, and *ordinem*, although imperfectly. It would not be fitting that God should produce all things equal, but rather according to a gradation. For the gradation to be perfect, it is necessary that there be something near God and similar to Him; and also at the other extreme, that there be something near to nothingness, and this also in some way like God, obviously not entirely nor perfectly, because it has in it the very least of good. It can be said, nevertheless, that even in its low condition, considering what it is, and its part in the whole gradation, it is ordered best.[2]

Saint Bonaventure has a great deal more to say about order, and its importance. Order can be considered in a twofold way: as the order of parts to a whole, and as the order of parts to an end.

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[1] Quoniam ergo vestigium attenditur in comparatione ad Deum proprie, ideo in his ultimis conditionibus proprie accipitur vestigium. Et quia magna est inter istas comparationes convenientia, ideo Magister miscet haec ad invicem propter multam convenientiam et correspondentiam; quia unitas respondet modo, qui respicit Deum ut causam efficientem, veritas speciei, quae respicit ipsum ut exemplar; bonitas ordini, qui respicit Deum ut finem. *Ibid.*

[2] Nam materia non est privatio pura, immo ratione suae essentiae habet aliquid de pulcritudine et aliquid de luce. Unde Augustinus dicit quod habet modum, speciem et ordinem quamvis imperfecte. Non oportet autem quod Deus omnes res producat sibi aequaliter similes, immo secundum gradum. Et ideo ad hoc, quod gradus sint perfecti, necesse est ponere aliquid prope Deum, et hoc simillimum; et aliquid prope nihil, et hoc aliquo modo simile, licet non omnino nec perfecte, quod quamvis in se minimum habeat de bono, tamen optime ordinatum est. II S. 1, 1, 1, 1 (II 15).

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The first of these regards wisdom; the second, goodness. Yet these two orders are conformed to each other in such a way that the order of parts in the universe is on account of the order to an end. In speaking of the order of parts in the universe, there can be considered the first and substantial parts, or the corruptible and separate parts. Without any exception it can be said that the first and substantial parts are ordered best, and cannot be ordered better, because the substantial order and immutable beauty of the universe depends upon them. But corruptible and separate parts, when considered as *now*, can be, and sometimes are, ordered better. But even these corruptible and separate parts, when considered simply, and in relation to the end, are ordered best in that respect.[1]

To elucidate still further, Saint Bonaventure compares the order of the world to a most beautiful song: the things of the world are ordered best to an end without violence to the order of the universe, as a song flows on according to the best harmonies, some parts succeeding others, until the thing is perfectly ordered to an end. The production of anything shows the power of the producer; the drawing of something out of nothing shows the greatest possible power. Although the order of things in the universe shows wisdom, and the order to an end, goodness, yet the comparison, one to the other, of these two orders, shows the highest wisdom and highest goodness, because nothing can disturb the order achieved here.[2]

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[1] Est ordo partium in toto, et est ordo partium in finem. Primus ordo respicit sapientiam, secundus ordo respicit bonitatem. Et sunt isti duo ordines ita coniuncti, ut unus alteri conformetur, et ordo partium in universo est propter ordinationem ad finem. Si ergo loquamur de ordine partium in universo, aut hoc est quantum ad partes primas et substantiales; et sic absque distinctione optime sunt ordinatae, ita quod melius ordinati, ita quod melius ordinari non potuerunt, quia in eis consistit ordo substantialis et pulcritudo universi immutabilis. Vel quantum ad partes corruptibiles et remotas, et hoc dupliciter: aut absolute et ut nunc; et sic potuerunt melius ordinari et aliquando erunt melius ordinatae; aut simpliciter et in relatione ad finem; et sic sunt res optime ordinatae in universo, secundum quod convenit ordini in finem. I S. 44, 1, 3 (I 786).

[2] Similiter optime ordinatae sunt res in finem, salvo ordine universi, quia universum est tanquam pulcherrimum carmen, quod decurrit secundum optimas consonantias, aliis partibus succedentibus aliis, quousque

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There could be the following objection: If the goodness of an order depends upon the goodness of the parts considered absolutely, then the order could not possibly be best, because things according to their *esse* or essence are not best. Saint Bonaventure answers this in the following way. Although contingent things have contingent essences, they have, nevertheless, a necessary order, so that, although a thing may not be best in itself, yet it is ordered best. An example of this is seen in the parts of the body, and in a work of art in which there is consonance and harmony, as in the harp. In the body the location of the eye is more noble than the foot, but if one were to consider them from the point of view of their functions, then both are situated best, and one is not better situated than the other. Saint Augustine understood this when he said that the angel is best in heaven and the worm best in the depths of the earth. Saint Bonaventure calls upon works of art — music and poetry — to illustrate further the necessity of the subordination of the part to the whole. In the case of music played on the harp, the chords should be so proportioned that if any one should be altered, so that it would give a better sound, no harmony at all would remain. A similar result is true in the case of poetry. The words can be so ordered in the making of poetry, that from the same words it would be impossible to make poetry that would be better[1].

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res perfecte ordinentur in finem. Unde sicut in productione rerum manifestatur potentia, sed in comparatione sive in ordine ad non-ens ostenditur summa potentia, creans ex nihilo: sic ordo rerum in universo in se ostendit sapientiam, et ordo ad finem bonitatem, sed in comparatione unius ad alterum ostenditur summa sapientia et summa bonitas, quia nihil potest hunc ordinem deordinare, sicut melius infra patebit. *Ibid.*

[1] Ad illud quod obiicitur, quod ordo pendet ex partibus; dicendum, quod sicut aliqua contingentia in se habent esse absolutum contingens, sed ordinem necessarium; sic et in proposito intelligendum, quod quamvis aliquid non sit optimum in se, tamen optime ordinatur. Et exemplum huius patet in partibus corporis et in re artificiali, in qua est consonantia et harmonia, sicut in cithara. Quamvis enim nobilior sit situs oculi quam pedis, tamen si consideremus utrumque secundum suum officium, tam oculus quam pes optime situati sunt in toto, ita quod nec oculus melius pede, nec e conservo. Et ita dicit Augustinus super Ioannem (Cap. 1, 3 tract. 1, 13), quod sicut angelus optime in caelo, ita vermiculus optime in imo, sicut

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The unity achieved by the ordering of parts to a whole conforms to Saint Augustine's definition of beauty which Saint Bonaventure frequently repeats: *Pulcritudo nihil aliud est quam aequalitas numerosa.*[1] This numbered equality, or unity in diversity, or *congruentia*, Saint Bonaventure finds in all beauty, created and uncreated. In created beauty, of which we are now speaking, he mentions the beauty of the human face, saying that the more the parts of a face are proportioned and adequated, so much the more beautiful it will be. Adequation in this particular sense would be understood as a symmetry and balance.[2]

The beauty of the world for Saint Bonaventure has a cosmic totality, so that it can be compared to a vast symphony of many different instruments each with its own individual part contributing to the whole in an orderly sequence of note after note.[3] This is true of the animals which were placed here to ornament the universe for man's enjoyment and use. It is also true of the sequence of events which constitute history. These likewise, governed by the wisdom of God, proceed in a most orderly fashion from the creation of the world until the end of time, manifesting the variety, multiplicity and equality, order, rectitude, and beauty of the many divine judgments.[4] But a fragment of a song is only a partial beauty. To

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in terra. Et similiter apparet in cithara: possunt enim omnes chordae ita proportionari, quod si aliqua tendatur, ut detur ei melior sonum, nunquam remanebit consonantia. Similiter dictiones possunt ordinari ad faciendum versum, ita quod ex illis dictionibus impossibile est fieri versum melius ordinatum; sic in propositio intelligendum. I S. 44, 1, 3 (786—787).

[1] Saint Augustine, VI *de Musica* c. 13, n. 38.

[2] Secundum Augustinum in sexto suae Musicae, "Pulcritudo est aequalitas numerosa," quia quanto alicuius faciei partes magis proportionantur et adaequantur, tanto venustior, et hoc ratione adaequationis istarum partium. *Sermo de Sanctis. In Festo Omnium Sanctorum.* Sermo II (IX 601).

[3] . . . quadam successione et ordine, dum animalia sibi succederent, universum decorarent, tanquam pulcherrimum carmen, in quo syllaba succedit syllabae. II S. 15, 2, 1 (II 383).

[4] Sic igitur totus iste mundus ordinatissimo decursu a Scriptura describitur procedere a principio usque ad finem, ad modum cuiusdam, pulcherrimi carminis ordinati, ubi potest quis speculari secundum decursum temporis varietatem, multiplicitatem et aequitatem, ordinem, rectitudinem et pulcri-

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hear and appreciate the total beauty, one must hear it all. Hence, to understand the real beauty of the order and governance of the universe it would be necessary to view history in its entirety. Since the span of man's life is short and his personal experience extremely limited, and moreover, since he is in no natural way able to know the future, God has provided a common way. By the Revelation in Sacred Scripture, man is able to know the extent of the universe in time.[1]

Saint Bonaventure says that the integrity and perfection of the universe demand that all things that occur should do so in the best possible order. Therefore the Incarnation, the most perfect of the divine works, should occur at the end of time. This is because the act of creation was a graded ascent from the imperfect and incomplete, through the six days, to the crown of creation, the first man, whom Saint Bonaventure calls the sensitive ornament of the whole world. And as the first man was created on the sixth and last day of creation, so the second Man, the completion of the redeemed world, He in whom is joined the first principle with the last, *God with clay*, as Saint Bernard says, should appear at the end of ages, the sixth age. This does not mean that His coming brought time to an end, but that it introduced the age of grace.[2]

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tudinem multorum divinorum iudiciorum, procedentium a sapientia Dei gubernante mundum. *Brevil.* Prol. 4; min. ed., p. 17.

[1] Unde sicut nullus potest videre pulcritudinem carminis, nisi aspectus eius feratur super totum versum; sic nullus videt pulcritudinem ordinis et regiminis universi, nisi eam totam speculetur. Et quia nullus homo tam longaevus est, quod totam possit videre oculis carnis suae, nec futura potest per se praevidere; providit nobis Spiritus sanctus librum Scripturae sacrae, cuius longitudo commetitur se decursui regiminis universi. *Ibid.*, pp. 17—18.

[2] Quoniam integritas et perfectio universi requirit, ut universa sint ordinata quantum ad loca et tempora; et hoc opus incarnationis erat perfectissimum inter omnia opera divina: et processus debet esse ab imperfecto ad perfectum, et non a converso: hinc est, quod opus illud debuit fieri in fine temporum, ut sicut primus homo, qui erat totius mundi sensibilis ornamentum, ultimo fuerat conditus, scilicet sexto die ad totius mundi completionem: sic secundus homo, totius mundi reparati complementum, in quo primum principium coniungitur cum ultimo, scilicet, *Deus*

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When Saint Bonaventure said, *Pulcritudo consistit in ordine*,[1] it is obvious that he understood what he was saying and meant it in its widest connotation. The love of order and systematization is everywhere in Saint Bonaventure's thought, and is one of its chief aesthetic notes. Anyone, therefore, who wishes to see how praiseworthy God is in His works, ought not to look only at what he sees actually present, but he should indeed consider also the past and the future. For just as the beauty of a verse is not perceived in a single syllable but in the complete verse, so he is not able to see the beauty and praiseworthiness of divine works if he looks at them only in part.[2]

The unity achieved through a harmonious arrangement of parts in a whole is found also in the individual in so far as it achieves a completeness and perfection, and this by being fully what its nature demands it to be. It is, then, by an integrity and an entire lack of anything contrary that what is beautiful can be considered so. This is brought out by Saint Bonaventure when he treats of evangelical perfection and the virginity of the Blessed Virgin and of Christ.[3] It is also evidenced when he says that everything is beautiful according to its own genus, that is, in so far as it corresponds to ontological truth. It must be, as an *exemplatum*, what it is supposed to be accord-

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cum limo, fieret in fine temporum, hoc est in sexta aetate, quae est aetas apta ad exercitium sapientiae et ad enervationem concupiscentiae et ad transitum a statu turbinis ad quietem; quae omnia competunt sextae aetati decursus mundi propter incarnationem Filii Dei. *Ibid.*, IV, 4, 4; min. ed., pp. 138—139.

[1] II S. 9, unic., 6 (II 252).

[2] Et ideo si quis velit attendere, quantum sit commendabilis Deus in operibus suis, non debet aspicere solum ad illud quod praesentialiter videt, verum etiam ad antecedentia et futura; quia, sicut pulcritudo metri non percipitur una syllaba, sed in versus integritate, sic pulcritudinem divinorum operum et laudabilitatem respicere non potest qui respicit ea in parte. II S. 32, 3, 2 (II 774).

[3] Quantum ad eminentiam pulcritudinis: quia maxima pulcritudo consistit in perfecta integritate et munditia tam in corde quam in corpore, ex qua virginalis castitas ipsi Christo, totius pulcritudinis fonti et origini, facit conformem. *Quaest. Disput. de Perfectione Evangelica* III, 3 (V 177). Speciositas perfecta claudit in se impermixtionem respectu contrarii. *De Nativitate B. Virginis Mariae Sermo* II (IX 708).

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ing to the exemplary idea in the Divine Mind, and thus, by a conformity between what represents and what is represented, beauty will result.[1] Something that by its nature has a rough, scaly surface may commonly be considered deformed and ugly; actually it is most beautiful. Saint Bonventure quotes the Bride in the *Canticle of Canticles*, who says, "I am black, but beautiful," and comments that she may well have said, "Because I am black, I am beautiful, for it is my nature to be black, and that is the way God made me to be."

There is more that can be said concerning the beauty of the sunrise. According to Saint Augustine, beauty consists in a harmonious relation of parts, accompanied by a certain suavity of color. After quoting Saint Augustine, Saint Bonaventure amplifies in a more general way. Perfect beauty, he says, includes a total absence of anything contrary, a coordination in respect to parts, and a delight on the part of the apprehending senses. The sun, then, according to these criteria, has an excellent beauty. In the sunrise there is no mixture of opposites, that is, of clouds or mists, or of any obscurity, because the rising sun dispels all these. Thus the Blessed Virgin Mary is like the rising sun through sanctifying grace and so she is compared in the Book of Kings, and thus also did Saint Anselm compare her.[2]

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[1] Item, haec germinatio est venusta; et ideo subiungitur: Unumquodque secundum genus suum. Ipsa scabiositas exterior facit eam reputari deformem, et tamen ex hoc est pulcherrima; et ideo dicit sponsa: Nigra sum, sed formosa, quia nigra, ideo formosa. Unde in Genesi: Plantaverat Deus paradisum voluptatis a principio, in quo posuit hominem, quem formaverat. Produxit quae Dominus Deus de humo omne lignum pulcherrimum visu et ad vescendum suave. Lignum etiam vitae in medio paradisi lignumque scientiae boni et mali. Per ligna suavia et pulcra intelliguntur sacramenta Scripturarum, quae magnam habent pulcritudinem; tamen non apparent pulcra nisi ex conformitate repraesentantis ad repraesentatum. Nam ista ligna sunt pulcra, quia ordinata. *Coll. in Hexaem.* XIV, 4 (V 393).

[2] Haec ergo mulier bona soli excellentissime similatur ratione excellentium proprietatum solarium. Sol namque iste materialis habet speciositatem in ortu, velocitatem in decursu, sublimitatem in situ et virtuositatem in effectu. Quae quidem proprietates omnes ad Virginem transferri possunt. Ipsa enim habent speciositatem in ortu, per gratiam purgativam; velocitatem in decursu, per gratiam promotivam; sublimitatem in situ, per gratiam perfectivam; virtuositatem in effectu, per gratiam diffusivam;

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Secondly, the sun in its rising is beautiful because of its harmonious relation to the rest of the world: for it embellishes the whole world, and because of this, Holy Scripture calls it the beauty of heaven. Saint Bonaventure continues to praise the beauty of the sun, calling it an admirable vessel, the work of the most High. Wondrously it makes the universe beautiful by its rising and its presence. Likewise can it be said that the Blessed Virgin makes the whole world beautiful also; she too is an admirable vessel, the container of light, which, if removed from its midst, would cause the whole world to be deformed. If you take from the world the Mother of God, you will also take away, as a consequent, the Incarnate Word; and when He is removed, there would remain only the deformity of sinning and the error of sin. For then the wisdom of God would be taken away, Christ, who is Beauty itself and the Beautifier of all things, as the Book of Wisdom says: He is the brightness of eternal light and the spotless Mirror of the majesty of God.[1]

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et ideo soli merito comparatur. 1. Habet igitur sol materialis speciositatem in ortu. "Est enim speciositas, sicut dicit Augustinus in libro de Civitate Dei (Libr. XXII c. 18. n. 2), quidem partium situs cum quadam coloris suavitate." Unde speciositas perfecta claudit in se impermixtionem respectu contrarii, coordinationem respectu connexi et oblectationem respectu sensus comprehensivi; propter quae sol habet excellentem speciositatem. Sol igitur habet speciositatem in suo ortu propter impermixtionem contrarii, videlicet nubis et caliginis et omnis obscuritatis, quae in eius ortu recedit; propter quod beata Virgo soli assimilatur per gratiam sanctificationis, quod designatur secundi Regum vigesimo tertio (Vers. 1, sequuntur Apoc. 22, 16 et Anselm de Concept. virgin. c. 18) ubi sic dicitur: Sicut lux aurore, oriente sole, mane absque nubibus rutilat, et sicut pluviis germinat herba de terra: ... *De Nativitate B. Virginis Mariae*, Sermo II (IX 708—709).

[1] Secundo, propter decorationem totius universi; unde Ecclesiastici quadragesimo tertio: Species caeli, in visione gloriae. Sol enim mirabiliter reddit universum formosum ex sua praesentia et ortu; sic et beata Virgo decorat totum mundum; est enim vas admirabile, luminis contentivum, quod si tollatur de medio, deformatur totum universum. Si enim tollis Matrem Dei de mundo, per consequens tollis Verbum incarnatum; quo ablato, iam remanet deformitas peccantium et error peccatorum. Auferetur enim Dei sapientia, Christus, qui est pulcritudo pulcrificativa universorum, secundum illud Sapientiae septimo: Candor est lucis aeternae et speculum sine macula Dei maiestatis... *Ibid.*

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Thirdly, the sun in its rising is beautiful because of the delight experienced in the sense which perceives it. Saint Bonaventure knew Sacred Scripture so thoroughly that he could always quote an apt text to illustrate his meaning. The sun, then, is a sweet light, according to Scripture, a delight for the eyes to behold. Yet however satisfying may be the pleasures felt by the eyes of the body in seeing the beauty of the material sun, how much more joy is experienced by the spiritual eyes of the faithful in contemplating the beauty of the Virgin, prophecied in the Book of Esther as highly beautiful and incredibly lovely, appearing to the eyes of all as gracious and amiable. Such, said Saint Bonaventure, was the most glorious Virgin, pleasing as she was to the angels of God and to the eyes of her celestial Spouse because of the greatness of her charm and her beauty. Therefore, indeed, may the most glorious Virgin, because of the beauty of purifying grace, be compared to the light of the sun.[1]

Another constituent of material beauty is color, and in this Saint Bonaventure follows closely Saint Augustine, quoting the text whenever the occasion arises: *Omnis pulcritudo est partium convenientia cum quadam coloris suavitate.*[2] He also uses Aristotle's definition of color as the extremity of the transparent in a terminated body.[3]

According to Saint Bonaventure's characteristic symbolism, the colors of bodies correspond to the virtues of the soul. Just as a picture becomes ugly and spoiled when its colors are removed, so also the

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[1] Tertio, propter, oblectationem sensus apprehensivi, secundum illud Ecclesiastae undecimo (Vers. 7; sequuntur Esth. 2. 15): Dulce lumen, et delectabile est oculis videre solem. Satis quidem est delectabile oculis materialibus videre solem materialem, sed multo iucundius est oculis fidelibus contueri ipsam formositatem Virginis, in cuius figura dicitur Esther secundo, quod erat formosa valde et incredibili pulcritudine, omnium oculis gratiosa et amabilis videbatur. Talis, inquam, fuit gloriosissima Virgo, quae placuit Angelis Dei et oculis caelestia Sponsi prae magnitudine decoris et pulcritudinis . . . Sic igitur Virgo gloriossissima propter speciositatem gratiae purificantis assimilatur luci solari. *Ibid.*

[2] *De Civitate Dei*, XXII, 24, 4.

[3] Color est extremitas perspicui in corpore terminato. *Libr. de Sensu et sens. 3.*

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soul loses its beauty, its color, when the devil takes away the virtues of the lost soul.[1] There are two things to be considered in color: light and the body with its characteristic qualities. Added to this is the person perceiving the color through the appropriate sense, the eye.[2] Of all the colors, Saint Bonaventure found red to be the most beautiful because this is the color of the Precious Blood of Our Lord. It is surprising to see in a thirteenth century sermon what Catholic devotion to the Sacred Heart places in the seventeenth. Saint Bonaventure says Christ gave His Heart in the likeness of a picture when he suffered the side of His Heart to be opened by a lance and He painted the picture with the blood that issued forth. Its color was most noble, surpassing all others in dignity.[3]

The source of the beauty of color is light. Of all things created, light is the most beautiful, the most delightful, and the best, as Saint Augustine also said. Light is the queen of colors, pouring itself over all things that we see, wherever we may be during the day, and in a thousand ways slipping into our path, caressing us as we apply ourselves to other things, not noticing it. But so powerfully does it insinuate itself that, were it suddenly taken away, it would be sought again with desire, and if long absent, the soul would become saddened.[4]

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[1] Secundo non solum damnificatur, immo etiam vilificatur, quoniam decore suo privatur. Exemplum possumus accipere de imagine, quae deturpatur et vilificatur, quando auferuntur ab ea colores. Ita facit diabolus, quia aufert ab anima colores, id est virtutes. *Sermones de Sanctis. De S. Bartholomaeo Apostolo.* (IX 571).

[2] Fundamenta 3. . . . ad colorem duo concurrunt, scilicet lux et quatuor qualitatis; . . . IV S. 49, II, 2, 2, 1 (IV, 1025).

[3] Cor suum in similitudinem picturae dedit, quando latus cordis aperiri lancea permisit et sanguine emanente pinxit. Iste color nobilissimus est, qui supereminet omnibus coloribus . . . Dominica XXII Post Pentecosten Sermo VI (IX 448).

[4] Lux est pulcherrimum et delectabilissimum et optimum inter corporalia, secundum Augustinum; (Libr. X Confess. c. 34. n. 51). Ipsa enim regina colorum lux est, perfundens cuncta, quae cernimus, ubiubi per diem fuero, multimodo allapsu blanditur mihi aliud agendi et eam non advertenti. Insinuat autem se ita vehementer, ut, si repente subtrahatur, cum desiderio requiratur, et si diu absit, contristet animum. *Comment. in Sapientiam* VII, 10 (VI 153).

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Later, in speaking of the beauty of the soul, it will be shown how wisdom is called the spiritual light of the soul.[1] Light adds a splendor to color, as is seen by the polishing of a sword. There is no change of color, but a luster is added that increases its beauty. The same is true of coal that will remain colored by the incorporation of fire, but there is added the beauty of luminosity. These examples were given by Saint Bonaventure to show how the glorified bodies of the saints in Heaven will have both color and the light of glory.[2]

Finally, the great variety of lights, of figures, and of colors found in the material world — in the heavenly bodies, in the minerals and stones, and in plants and animals — manifest most obviously the power, wisdom, and goodness of their Creator.[3]

From what has been said it is clear that Saint Bonaventure recognizes material beauty. Now it is a question of determining the value that he places upon it. He points out its instability by comparing bodily beauty to the loveliness of flowers: it is certain to fade.[4] This might not seem so significant if one did not remember that elsewhere Saint Bonaventure said that every artist intends to make a work that will be beautiful, useful, and stable, and only when these three conditions are fulfilled will the work be valued and

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[1] Sic sapientia inter spiritualia lux est animae. *Ibid.*

[2] . . . sicut ensis per multam tersionem non amittit colorem, sed eius colori additur splendor; sic in proposito. Sicut etiam carbo per sui naturam alicuius coloris est, adveniente autem igne, efficitur luminosis; et tamen nihilominus est coloratus, quia est ibi lux materiae terrestri incorporata: sic in proposito intelligendum quod corpus resurgens per naturam suam habebit colorem, et claritas luminis superinduet ipsum sicut ignis carbonem. IV S. 49, II, 2, 2, 1 (IV 1025).

[3] Pulchritudo autem rerum secundum varietatem luminum, figurarum et colorum in corporibus simplicibus, mixtis et etiam complexionatis, sicut in corporibus caelestibus et mineralibus, sicut lapidibus et metallis, plantis et animalibus, tria praedicta evidenter proclamat. *Itiner. Mentis in Deum*, I, 14; min. ed., p. 301.

[4] Corona etiam decoris terreni est momentanea, quia decor carnis similis est decori floris. Certum est, quod marcescunt. *Sermones de Sanctis. De Sancto Stephano Martyre*, Sermo II (IX 488).

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acceptable.[1] A crown of earthly beauty is at best momentary. Much better it is to lay up in heaven a precious crown by the abdication of earthly ones; a crown of beauty, by vigilant circumspection; a crown of honor, by renouncing our own; an incorruptible crown, through mortification of the body.[2]

The fragility and transitory character of earthly beauty he emphasizes also in distinguishing the various uses of the word *figure*. One meaning refers to that which is enclosed by lines and this ought not to apply to the earth because it is not entirely circular. Secondly, *figure* is called the exterior face or appearance of a thing, or its beauty. But this will pass, as Peter Lombard said, for it belongs, not to the substance, but to beauty. A third manner of using *figure* concerns something made, or its fragility, as a fragile vase, and this surely will not endure. It is clear, then, that although the substance and quantity of elements remain, their qualities change, that is, the disposition of material parts, and this accounts for both their beauty and their fragility.[3]

For Saint Bonaventure true beauty was a deep, spiritual thing, a transcendental, and for physical beauty to be an end in itself, or for beauty to be considered as existing primarily in material

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[1] Omnis enim artifex intendit producere opus pulcrum et utile et stabile; et tunc est carum et acceptabile opus, cum habet istas tres conditiones. *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam* 13; min. ed., p. 377.

[2] Coronam igitur pretiositatis acquiramus per terrenorum abdicationem; coronam venustatis, vigilantiae circumspectionem; coronam honoris, per nostri abiectionem; coronam incorruptionis, per carnis mortificationem. *Sermones de Sanctis. De Sancto Stephano Martyre.* Sermo II (IX, 488).

[3] Conclusio: Elementorum et substantia et quantitates remanebunt; sed qualitates quoad substantiam remanentes innovabuntur quoad rationem corruptionis. Ad 1. Et patent obiecta praeter primum, quod dicit, quod figura non transit. Dico enim, quod figura dicitur tripliciter: uno modo dispositio ex clausione linearum; et haec praeterit quantum ad terram, quia non omnino est orbicularis. Secundo modo dicitur figura exteriorrei facies sive pulcritudo; et haec transibit, sicut dicitur in Glossa (Apud Petr. Lombard. "non substantia, sed pulcritudo.") Tertio modo figura dicitur fictio vel fragilitas a fingo, fingis, ut vasa figuli; et sic etiam pertransibit. Et sic patet, quod non transibit substantia, sed dispositio partium quoad terram et pulcritudo et fragilitas. IV S. 48, 2, 3 (IV 993).

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bodies was an abhorrent idea. It was not that he did not recognize the existence of physical beauty. He pointed out to those who remarked on the beauty of human hair, that natural beauty is two-fold: spiritual beauty and corporeal beauty. He immediately rejected the latter as vanity, and said that as such it should not be served, but despised by those who wish to follow the interior way of spiritual perfection. The cult of external beauty leads to corruption and hence is worthy only of contempt. But as regards spiritual beauty found in the interior of the soul, he found it both beautiful and honorable, possessing as it does the note of stability, for it is founded on grace which will not become corrupted as material things do, but will augment instead. Hence Saint Bonaventure concluded that the cultivation of external beauty is fled by the spiritual-minded.[1]

It is because Saint Bonaventure clearly saw that beauty leads to love that he was so concerned with the idea. He developed the question when treating of the proper motives for choosing a partner for the state of matrimony. He quoted the objection that Jacob chose Rachel because of the beauty of her face and her pleasing aspect. Here he made the distinction that beauty in a man or woman as an incentive to matrimony can be considered in two ways, either as a principal cause or as an inducing cause which attracts only after a certain manner. Saint Bonaventure rejected beauty as a principal cause for contracting matrimony, as one less honorable or worthy. Beauty should not be the primary cause of matrimony, but the procreation of children, or some similar motive in compliance with the divine ordinance. Beauty, however, considered as an inducing cause, can be followed without sin, because beauty naturally attracts

[1] Ad illud quod obiicitur, quod caesaries decorat naturam; dicendum, quod decor naturae duplex est: quidam spiritualis et quidam corporalis. Spiritualis decor per gratiam non aufertur, sed augetur; sed corporalis vanus est, secundum illud Proverbiorum ultimo: Vano est pulcritudo (Vers. 30. II Cor. 4, 16); et iste non est servandus, immo contemnendus ab his qui interiorem volunt servare, secundum illud Apostoli, secundae ad Corinthios quarto: Etsi is qui foris est homo noster, corrumpatur etc., et licet contemptibilis fiat extra, tamen decorus et honorabilis fit intra. Et in hoc significatur, quod huius modi cultura exterior est a spiritualibus fugienda. IV S. 24, I, 1, 1 (IV 609).

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the soul to love. And if such love is a love of complacency, it is not culpable.[1]

In a rather original way, Saint Bonaventure made concupiscence, not pride, the root of all evil, dividing it into the concupiscence of pleasure, of curiosity, and of vanity. The concupiscence of pleasure includes what would ordinarily be understood under such a general heading. The third division, that of vanity, embraces what most ascetical writers term as pride. But it is the second one — the concupiscence of curiosity — that is of interest here. Saint Bonaventure said that this vice can be detected in a person when he desires to know the secret, to see the beautiful, and to possess the rare and valuable. The desire to see the materially beautiful, simply for the reason that it is beautiful, is reprehensible because it savours of curiosity and avarice.[2]

Probably of all Saint Bonaventure's works the most moving is the *Soliloquium*. Here in the manner of Saint Augustine in the

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[1] Item quaeritur de hoc quod dicit, quod Iacob Rachel decoram facie et venusto aspectu amavit; utrum peccaverit. Et quod sic, videtur, quia Magister dicit in littera, quod "pulcritudo est causa minus honesta, propter quam contrahitur matrimonium." Item, fallax gratia et vana est pulcritudo, sicut dicitur Proverbiorum ultimo (Vers. 30): ergo qui propter pulcritudinem contrahit matrimonium movetur ex vanitate: si ergo in Sacramentis divinis talis causa est reprehensibilis patet etc. . . . Respondeo: Dicendum quod pulcritudo in muliere vel in viro potest dupliciter movere ad matrimonium contrahendum: aut sicut causa principalis, aut sicut causa inducens et attrahens quodam modo. Si sicut causa principalis; tunc est causa minus honesta, quia non debet hoc intendi in matrimonia, sed filiorum procreatio, vel aliquod simile, et hoc iterum ordinatum est ad divinum obsequium. Si autem sicut inducens; potest esse sine peccato . . . pro eo quod pulcritudo naturaliter attrahit animum ad amorem; et si amor talis sit complacentiae non multum intensus, non est culpabilis. IV S. 30, 6 (IV 713).

[2] Circa concupiscentiam autem debet homo recogitare, si in se vivat concupiscentia voluptatis, concupiscentia curiositatis, concupiscentia vanitatis, quae sunt radices omni mali. . . . Secundo recognitanda est concupiscentia curiositatis si vivat vel vixerit in homine. Hoc autem deprehenditur, cum quis appetit scire occulta, videre pulcra et habere cara. In omnibus enim his est vitium avaritiae et curiositatis multum reprehensibile. *De Triplici Via*. I, 5 (VIII, 4—5).

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Confessions, he allowed his soul to speak directly to God. Despite the fact that he called earthly beauty vanity, he nevertheless used the rich imagery of nature to express his ardent devotion. Perhaps a quotation would be the best illustration:

Alas, Lord, now I know, but I blush to confess, that the beauty and ornamentation of creatures have deceived my eyes, and I did not perceive that Thou art more beautiful than all creatures, to whom in so many ways, Thou dost communicate one drop of Thine inestimable beauty. For who is it that ornaments the heaven with stars, the air with birds, the water with fishes, the earth with plants and flowers? Is it not Thou, most clement Father? Yet what are all these but a faint glimmer of Thy beauty, O good Jesus, fountain of universal beauty! Forgive me who am miserable because I so late have known Thy beauty, so late have loved Thee, and thus have so wretchedly strayed.

The sweetness, also, of creatures deceived my taste, and I did not perceive that Thou are sweeter than honey. For it is Thou that givest to honey, and to every creature, its sweetness, rather, indeed, it is Thy sweetness that Thou givest, and there is no sweetness or delight in creatures unless it is from Thine, which Thou dost conceal from those who fear Thee. Even this is a faint illustration. Thus the sweetness of all creatures, if rightly perceived, will do nothing else but invite one to taste of Thy eternal sweetness. O Jesus, Fountain of universal sweetness and kindness, forgive me.

So, too, did the fragrance of creatures deceive my sense of smell, and I did not know that Thy fragrance, O good Jesus, was above all aromas . . . Moreover, the false sound of creatures deceived my hearing . . . But, alas, as a culmination of reprobation, the softness of the flesh most miserably deceived my sense of touch . . .[1]

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[1] Heu Domine, nunc intelligo sed confiteri erubesco, species et decor creaturarum decepit oculum meum, et non adverti, quia speciosior omnibus creaturis tu es, quibus tantummodo unam guttam tuae inaestimabilis pulcritudinis communicasti. Quis enim ornavit caelum sideribus, aerem volucribus, aquam piscibus, terram plantis et floribus (Anselm. Meditat. 13). Nonne tu, clementissime Pater? . . . Sed quid sunt haec omnia nisi tuae pulcritudinis modica scintilla: O bone Jesu, fons universae pulcritudinis! ignosce mihi miserae, quod tuam pulcritudinem tam sero cognovi, tam tarde amavi; (August. X. Confess. c. 27, n. 38) propterea miserabiliter oberravi. Dulcedo etiam creaturarum decepit gustum meum, et non adverti, quod melle dulcior es. Tu enim melli et omni creaturae dulcedinem suam, immo tuam commodasti, et non est aliud in creatura dulcedo vel delectatio qualis eumque nisi tuae dulcedinis, quam abscondisti timentibus

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Further on he continued in the same strain:

> Now every creature is burdensome for me to see because so incomparably greater is the beauty of Him from Whom all these other beauties proceed.[1]

It would not be true to Saint Bonaventure's thought to imply that he despised earthly beauty. But in the clarity of his spiritual insight he could understand that, beautiful though one finds the visible world, it must be looked at, not as consisting of so many things in themselves, but as visible signs of an invisible God who made them. He clearly stated that all material things are both good and beautiful. If they seem not to be so, it is not through any defect in them, for they were made good and beautiful by God; what appears evil in them arises from some other cause.[2]

Of all the things in the material world there is nothing that can equal the nobility of the human body, noble both in its organization and arrangement. It could be completed only by the most noble form.[3] In another place Saint Bonaventure said that the great dignity of the human body results from the great harmony and proportioned union of its parts.[4] On what will the heavenly bodies

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te (Ps. 30, 20. Anselm. *loc. cit.*) modica demonstratio. Unde dulcedo omnium creaturarum, si quis iuste advertat, nihil aliud facit, nisi quod ad tuam dulcedinem aeternam invitat. O Iesu, fons universae dulcedinis et pietatis ignosce mihi . . . Decepit etiam odor creaturae olfactum meum, et ignoravi, quod odor tuus, O bone Iesu, super omnia aromata. . . . Decepit etiam sonus fallax creaturarum auditum meum . . . heu carnis mollitiis tactum meum nimis miserabiliter decipiebat . . . *Soliloquium* I, 3, 12—17 (VIII 33—34).

[1] Iam gravis est mihi omnis creatura ad videndum, quia nimis incomparabiliter supereminet eius pulcritudo, a quo processerunt haec omnia! *Ibid.* IV, 5, 27 (VIII 66). (Author's translation.)

[2] Omne bonum et pulcrum est a Deo bono; sed omnia visibilia bona sunt et pulcra; ergo corruptibilia sunt ab alio principio. II S. 1, I, 2, 1 Fund. 4 (II 26).

[3] Corpus enim humanum nobilissima complexione et organizatione, quae sit in natura, est organizatum et complexionatum; ideo non completur nec natum est compleri nisi nobilissima forma sive natura. II S. 1, II, 3, 2 (II 50).

[4] Magna etiam est dignitas humani corporis propter magnam harmoniam et proportionalem coniunctionem suarum partium . . . II S. 17, 2, 2 (II 423).

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have the most noble influence? It will be on the human body because it is most noble and ordered to the most noble form, the rational soul, which calls for a better and more noble disposition of parts in its matter.[1]

It is rather surprising to note that Saint Bonaventure considered scars as beautifying the body — surprising until one recalls that his thought is Christocentric. In the glorified body scars will remain because they are the ornament and glory of the soul, and because they do not take away the beauty of the body, but frequently such marks make the body more beautiful. Since their presence can even take away ugliness from a body, they should not be confused with deformity, which always deforms.[2]

The beauty of the universe requires that sin be punished, as well as the Divine Equity. For the universe has beauty arising from order. Its beauty is of such a nature that it fittingly manifests the highest wisdom. And since there can in no way be any ugliness but that there be at the same time also something inordinate there, neither can sin be separated from punishment.[3] Moreover, the beauty of wisdom

[1] Quidam namque dixerunt quod caelum empyreum influit in haec inferiora, et influentia nobilissima. — Cum enim sit corpus, necesse est, influentiam suam, si qua est, esse corporalem. Rursus, cum sit excellentissimum inter corpora caelestia, influit super corpora nobilissima, et talia sunt corpora humana, quae sunt ordinata ad nobilissimam formam, scilicet animam rationalem, quae maiorem et nobiliorem dispositionem exigit in sua materia. II. S. 2, II, 1, 2; min. ed., p. 66. *Also:* Et haec aequalitas reperitur in his quae miscentur naturaliter, et inter omnia potissime reperitur in homine, quia nobilior debet esse in eius corpore proportio et harmonia miscibilium, secundum quod disponitur ad nobiliorem formam. Haec autem aequalitas non est aequalitas punctalis, sed latitudinem habet et gradus, et hoc secundum diversos status. II S. 17, 2, 3; min. ed. 438.

[2] Ad illud quod obiicitur de cicatricibus, dicendum quod aut cicatrices non resurgent, aut si resurgant, ita facient ad decorem et gloriam animae, quod non minuent pulcritudinem corporis, quia frequenter talia signa reddunt corpus magis decorem. Quoniam igitur cicatrix potest carere turpitudine, sed deformitas semper deformat; ideo non sic competit deformitas corporibus electorum, ut cicatrix. IV S. 44, I, 3, 1 ad 4; min. ed. pp. 905—906.

[3] Impossibile est, culpam, in aliquo esse, quin ad ipsam sequatur poena inseparabiliter. Et ratio huius est sumi ex perfectione divinae aequitatis,

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requires that sin be punished, because it cannot suffer anything ugly or ordinate to be found in the universe. And because all sin, either actual or original (contractum), is a privation of *modus*, *species*, and *ordo*, it is necessary that God compensate for the disorder of nature by the order of punishment, and thus the beauty of the universe continues, undisturbed in any part.[1] Reason agrees that harmony and necessity require eternal punishment, the former because of the completing of the world, and the latter, the just judgment of God. It is fitting that the beauty of the world should be ornamented by a certain antithesis, as Saint Augustine said, and as to the good are rewarded eternal good things, so to the wicked, eternal sufferings.[2] The just retribution according to merits beautifies the whole world so that the deformed makes the beautiful; the beautiful, the more beautiful; and the more beautiful, the most beautiful. Thus, as Saint Augustine said, the souls of the lost are most beautifully located in hell.[3]

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et ex pulcritudine universitatis, et ex inordinatione culpae, et ex conditione peccantis naturae . . . Ex pulcritudine universitatis ratio sumitur. Universam enim ex ordine pulcritudinem habet et talis est ista pulcritudo, qualem decuit ad ostensionem summae sapientiae; et ideo nullo modo foedari potest, ac per hoc nec ad momentum esse in ea aliquid inordinatum, et ita nec peccatum a poena separatum. II S. 36, 2, (1848).

[1] Pulcritudo etiam sapientiae hoc requirit, quia non patitur aliquid turpe vel inordinatum reperiri intra universum. Et quoniam omne peccatum, sive sit actuale, sive contractum, est "privatio modi, speciei et ordinis" (secundum August., *de Natura boni*, c. 4); necesse est, quod inordinationem naturae recompenset Deus per ordinem poenae, ut sic pulcritudo universi ex nulla parte remaneat deturpata. II S. 32, 3, 1 (II 770).

[2] Quod etiam ratio concordet, hoc patet; quia hoc dictat et per modum congruitatis et necessitatis. Cruciatum enim aeternum ponere facit ad complementum universi et iustum iudicium Dei. Sed prima est ratio congruitatis, secunda necessitatis. Congruum enim est, ut pulcritudo universi decoretur quibusdam antithetis (secundum August. XI de Civ. Dei, c. 18) ut, sicut bonis reduntur bona aeterna, ita et malis aeterna supplicia. IV S. 44, II, 1, 1 (IV 921).

[3] Sextum medium est iustitiae iudiciali recompensatione perpulcrum seu praecelsum. Quod medium erit Christus in iudicio. Hoc considerat iurista sive politicus, ut fiat retributio secundum merita. Hoc totum mundum pulcrificat, quia deformia facit pulcra, pulcra pulcriora et pulcriora pulcher-

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The beauty and perfection of the universe result from unity, a unity expressed in a two-fold way: one static, the other dynamic. The first has unity from completion; the second, from ordered succession. One is like the beauty of a picture; the other, like the beauty of a song, comparisons that Saint Bonaventure often used. The first and special perfection of the universe belongs to its permanent *esse;* the second belongs to its *esse* taken in its historical sequence, that is, as a successive *esse*. The first consists in the complete existence of principles and the complete number of species, certain ones of which share in the nature of genus, according to the right and ordered intention of nature. The second perfection consists in their production which runs through time and consequently follows a sequence, from the order of whose succession results a certain beauty and perfection of unity. Therefore, according to the first perfection, God produced the universe in six days as to its *esse*, namely, regarding the complete existence of principles and regarding the complete number of species; therefore He is said to have rested from all work, because He had finished. Yet indeed He works continually concerning the succession of things through propagation and the multiplication of individuals; therefore He is said to work in a continual way.[1]

The sensible world imitates as far as it can the Divine Exemplar, its Archetype, but it cannot do so completely. In God, the Arche-

rima. Unde Augustinus dicit, quod damnati pulcherrime locantur in inferno. *Coll. in Hexaem.* 1, 34 (V 335).

[1] Propter quod nota, quod duplex est perfectio universi: una et praecipua secundum esse permanens, alia est secundum ipsius esse decurrens. Prima attenditur in completa existentia principiorum et completo numero specierum, quae quidem species naturam generis participant secundum rectam et ordinatam intentionem naturae. Secunda vero perfectio consistit in productione eorum quae per tempora decurrunt et sibi consequenter succedunt, ex cuius successionis ordinatione resultat quadam unitatis pulcritudo et perfectio. Quoniam igitur secundum primam perfectionem Deus universum in sex diebus ad esse produxit, scilicet quantum ad completam existentiam principiarum et quantum ad completum numerum specierum; ideo dicitur requievisse ab omni opere, quod patrarat. Quia vero continue operatur ad rerum sucessionem per propagationem et individuorum multiplicationem; ideo dicitur operari usque modo. II S. 15, 2, 3 (II 387).

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type, there exists the highest beauty in the most complete unity. But in the sensible world, if there were unity, there would be no beauty, because no created thing has full perfection and order in itself. So that the world may imitate its Exemplar in perfection and beauty, it was fitting that it should have a multitude of things so the many could do what one alone would not be able to do by itself.[1]

[1] Quod obiicitur de archetypo et sensibili mundo, dicendum, quod iste imitatur illum in quantum potest, sed deficit. In illo enim est summa pulcritudo per omnimodam unitatem; hic autem, si esset unitas, non esset pulcritudo, quia non esset ordo nec perfectio. Et ideo, ut multa facerent quod unum facere per se non posset. II S. 1, II, 1, 1, Fund. 3 (II 40). Cfr. August., *de Civ. Dei*, c. 12.

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CHAPTER III

SPIRITUAL BEAUTY IN CREATURES

A. The Natural Beauty of the Soul

After having reviewed in detail the beauty of the material world and its many constituent parts, let us now turn to the world of spiritual creatures — the souls of men and the angels. If Saint Bonaventure seemed to have extolled the loveliness of the things that are seen, what yet greater praise had he for those that are unseen, made to the image of God! First there will be considered the natural beauty of the human soul, the expressed likeness of God, then its supernatural beauty, and finally, the beauty of the angels.

An image can be defined as an expressed similitude.[1] Although every creature bears in some degree a likeness to God, there must be, for the completion of the universe, a creature which expressly resembles God. Every creature without distinction has the nature of vestige, because what is made always carries the mark of the maker. That creature, however, which has the nature of image has the additional characteristic of being a likeness which is expressed.[2] Thus man who is an expressed likeness of God can be considered as the image of God.

For a better understanding of this, one can distinguish four kinds of similitude. In the first place, there is the similitude containing

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[1] "Imago dicit expressam similitudinem." II S. 16, 1, 1; min. ed. p. 405.

[2] Necesse est autem omnem creaturam quoquo modo assimilari Deo; necesse est etiam aliquam ad complementum universi expresse assimilari Deo: et ideo omnis creatura habet rationem vestigii, sed aliqua habet rationem imaginis, illa videlicet quae assimilatur expresse. Haec autem est rationalis creatura, ut homo; et ideo concedendum est quod homo est imago Dei, quia est eius expressa similitudo. *Ibid.*

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a complete harmony in which two are alike in every respect. Thus one Person in the Blessed Trinity is like to another. A second kind of similitude is found where two species partake in a common genus, as ass and man are alike in animality. The harmony of proportionality constitutes a third type. There is a harmonious relationship between the sailor and charioteer in so far as they both direct a means of transportation; the one navigates the ship; the other guides and controls horses. The fourth type is that of the harmony of order, where the *exemplatum*, or copy, resembles the *exemplari* or model.[1]

Of these four kinds of similitude, the first two cannot be applied to the relationship between any creature and God. But in the last two aspects can be found all creatures, either as remotely resembling God, and these are called vestiges, or as more closely resembling Him, and these are called images. Such is the rational creature, man.[2]

There are, then, two aspects under which creatures can be like God: according to the harmony of order, and according to the harmony of proportionality. Let us consider first the harmony of order. God, containing within Himself the highest power and majesty, made all that He made for His own glory; being the fullness of light, He made all the He made to manifest Himself; and being the highest goodness, He made all that He made to communicate Himself. But there can be no perfect praise without someone to approve; neither is there perfect manifestation unless there is someone to understand; nor can there be a perfect communication of good things unless there is someone who can appreciate the use of them.

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[1] Quaedam est similitudo per convenientiam omnimodam in natura, et sic una persona in Trinitate est alteri similis; quaedam per participationem alicuius naturae universalis, sicut homo et asinus assimilantur in animali; quaedam vero secundum proportionalitatem sicut nauta et auriga conveniunt secundum comparationem ad illa quae regunt; quaedam est similitudo per convenientiam ordinis, sicut exemplatum assimilatur exemplari. *Ibid.*

[2] Primis duobus modis nulla creatura potest Deo assimilari, secundis duobus modis omnis creatura assimilatur; sed illa quae assimilatur magis de longinquo habet rationem vestigii, illa vero quae de proximo habet rationem imaginis; talis autem est creatura rationalis, utpote homo. *Ibid.*

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The power to praise, to know truth, to turn a gift to its proper use, can belong only to a rational creature. For this reason, then, irrational creatures are not ordered immediately to God, but mediately through rational creatures. But in itself the rational creature, since it is naturally constituted to praise, to know, and to appropriate to itself other things according as it wills to do so or not, is naturally constituted to be ordered to God immediately.[1]

The more immediately one thing is ordered to another, the more does the one harmonize with the other with the harmony of order. But the rational soul, besides whatever other rational creatures there may be, is *capax Dei*, that is, it is capable of attaining to God through its natural powers. This, with the additional power of somehow partaking in Him, orders the soul immediately to God. Most completely, then, can it be said that the human soul harmonizes with God with the harmony of order. Although the word that Saint Bonaventure uses is *convenientia*, here translated as *harmony*, it is more commonly translated as *analogy*. Both Étienne Gilson in *La Philosophie de saint Bonaventure*[2] and the Reverend Petro Bianchi in *Doctrina S. Bonaventurae de Analogia universali*[3] treat the *imago* under the aspect of analogy. It might be more accurate and more true to the thought and psychology of Saint Bonaventure to use his own terminology. This would convey more subtly his inspired aesthetic inter-

[1] Cum sit summa potestas et maiestas fecit omnia ad sui laudem, cum sit summa lux fecit omnia ad sui manifestationem, cum sit summa bonitas fecit omnia ad sui communicationem. Non est autem perfecta laus nisi adsit qui approbet, nec est perfecta manifestatio nisi adsit qui intelligat, nec perfecta communicatio bonorum nisi adsit qui eis uti valeat. Et quoniam laudem approbare, veritatem scire, dona in usum assumere non est nisi solummodo rationalis creaturae, ideo non habent ipsae creaturae irrationales immediate ad Deum ordinari, sed mediante creatura rationali. Ipsa autem creatura rationalis, quia de se nata est et laudare et nosse et res alias in facultatem voluntatis assumere, nata est ordinari in Deum immediate. *Ibid.*

[2] Étienne Gilson, *La Philosophie de Saint Bonaventure*, Deuxième édition revue, Paris, Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1943, pp. 165—191.

[3] P. Petrus Bianchi, O.F.M., *Doctrina S. Bonaventurae Analogia Universali*, Zara, S. Francesco, Tipografia Commerciale Zaratina, 1940 — XVIII, in tota.

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pretation of the relations of God to the created universe — the inanimate and the animate, the irrational and the rational, the corporeal and the spiritual, and conversely, the relation of the created world to God. The harmonious relations, the hierarchy of creatures, powers, and faculties, achieved through a graded ascent from the lowest to the highest, remind one of Saint Bonaventure's favorite comparison of the world to a *pulcerrimum carmen*,[1] a most beautiful song, where all creatures in their own degree of being, join in the glorious concert of praise to their Creator who made them for this purpose, and in accomplishing their purpose of praising God, they themselves attain the end for which they were made.[2] The greater the harmony, so much the more expressive will be the similitude; hence it is that, in so far as the rational creature, according to the genus of similitude, is an expressed similitude, it is an image.[3]

The idea of *capax Dei* is not original with Saint Bonaventure. He derives the idea from Saint Augustine's *De Trinitate*.[4] The capacity for God follows from the fact that the rational soul is ordered immediately to Him. From this capacity for God, it follows that the rational soul is naturally constituted to be configurated to Him. Because of this the human soul bears within itself from its very origin the light of the Divine Face. Thus in regard to the similitude, which is understood according to the harmony of order, the human soul can most perfectly be called the image of God because it is expressly like Him.[5]

[1] *Brevil.* Prol. 4; min. ed., p. 17.

[2] Et quoniam quanto aliquid immediatius ordinatur ad aliquid, tanto magis convenit cum eo convenientia ordinis; et anima rationalis et quaelibet rationalis creatura, eo quod capax Dei est et particeps esse potest, immediate ordinatur in Ipsum; maxime convenit cum eo convenientia ordinis. II S. 16, 1, 1; min. ed., p. 405.

[3] Et quia, quanto maior est convenientia tanto expressior est similitudo, hinc est quod quantum ad hoc genus similitudinis rationalis creatura est similitudo expressa, et ideo imago est. *Ibid.*

[4] XIV, cap. 8, n. 11 (PL 42, 1044). Eo est anima imago Dei quod capax eius est et particips esse potest. *Ibid.*

[5] Et hoc est quod dicit Augustinus, *De Trinitate* XIV, quod "eo est anima imago Dei quo capax eius est et particeps esse potest.' Quia enim ei immediate ordinatur, ideo capax eius est vel e converso; et quia capax

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After having completed a study of how creatures resemble God according to the harmony of order, one can consider the second aspect under which creatures can resemble God, that is, according to the harmony of proportionality. This is a similitude of relation and has a double aspect: either an extrinsic comparison or an intrinsic one. There will be an expressed similitude only when there is not so much an extrinsic comparison as an intrinsic one.[1] It concerns the comparison of the Divine Essence to the creature, although it can also be used in reference to the relation of one Person of the Trinity to the other. Every creature in a certain sense is conformed to God: that is, in so far as He is the Cause of the creature, and it, in turn, is the effect produced.[2] But the rational creature has not only this mode of agreement. There is found also another mode whereby a comparison is found between the origin, order, and distinction of the intrinsic powers of the soul — memory, intellect, and will — and the distinction and order which are found intrinsically in the Persons of the Divine Nature. In the rational soul there is a unity of essence with a trinity of powers, ordered one to the other and related in a mode similar to the Persons in the Divinity.[3]

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est, nata est ei configurari; et propter hoc fert in se a sua origine lumen vultus divini. Et ideo quantum ad similitudinem, quae attenditur ad convenientiam ordinis, perfecte dicitur imago Dei, quia in hoc ei assimilatur expresse. *Ibid.*

[1] Convenientia enim proportionis attenditur secundum similiter se habere. Similiter autem se habere, hoc potest esse dupliciter: vel in comparatione ad extrinseca vel in comparatione ad intrinseca. Tunc autem est similitudo expressa, quando non tantum est similis modus se habendi in comparatione ad intrinseca. *Ibid.*, p. 405—406.

[2] Contingit autem comparare divinam essentiam ad creaturam contingit etiam comparare personam ad personam. Omnis autem creatura aliquam comparationem habet, secundum quam aliquo modo conformatur Deo secundum quod est causa creaturae, sicut est comparatio illa quae est ad effectum productum. *Ibid.*

[3] Creatura vero rationalis non solum sic convenit, sed etiam quantum ad intrinsecarum suarum potentiarum originem, ordinem et distinctionem in quibus assimilatur illi distinctioni et ordini quae est in divinis personis intrinseca divinae naturae. Et in hoc ostendit Augustinus, in libro *De Trinitate*, IX c. 2 seqq. (PL 42, 962 seqq.) hominem esse imaginem Dei; et hoc

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There are those who object to calling man the image of God, declaring that an image represents by totality, and to represent God by the totality of His perfections belongs to One alone, the only Son of God and the Image of the Father. It is well, then, to make the following distinction. When the word image implies a total representation in all perfection, then image refers alone to the Son of God. No other image can represent God according to His complete simplicity. Yet He can be represented by a certain kind of totality. For a rational and intelligent creature is in a certain way all things, for all things are fitted by nature to be written there, and the similitudes of all things are naturally equipped to be there painted and impressed. Thus it can be said that as the total universe represents God in a certain sensible totality, so also does the rational creature represent Him in a certain spiritual totality.[1] Other creatures of irrational nature can represent God only in part because, as they were not constituted by nature to hold anything spiritually within themselves, they are not constituted in a way to understand. This has reference to the animal soul, which may know some things, but not all.[2]

For those who object that God is infinitely distant from any creature whatsoever, one can answer that there is a distinction between participation and adequation. Since God is infinite, nothing can adequate or equal Him. Since He is simple, He cannot participate

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explanatum fuit in primo libro, ubi ostentum est, quod in anima rationali est unitas essentiae cum trinitate potentiarum ad invicem ordinatarum et quasi consimili modo se habentium, sicut se habent personae in divinis. Et ideo est ibi expressa similitudo proportionis; et propter hoc rationalis creatura, quae est homo, est imago Dei. *Ibid.*

[1] De alia non est verum quod repraesentet secundum totum simpliciter, repraesentat autem quantum ad aliquam totalitatem. Quia enim rationalis creatura et intellectus quodam modo est omnia, et omnia sunt nata ibi scribi, et imprimi omnium similitudines et depingi, ideo, sicut totum universum repraesentat Deum in quadem totalitate spirituali . . . *Ibid.*, p. 407.

[2] Quaelibet autem alia creatura irrationalis repraesentat eum solum in parte, quia secundum se tantum, cum non sit nata alia in se spiritualiter continere, ita quod nihil sit quod non sit nata cognoscere. Hoc dico propter animam sensibilem, quae, si cognoscat aliqua, non tamen nata est cognoscere omnia. *Ibid.*

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with any creature. Yet by the notion of order and of similitude the rational creature is not infinitely distant from the Creator, but is indeed near to Him.[1]

The idea of the soul as the expressed likeness of God occurs again and again in the writings of Saint Bonaventure. An understanding of *convenientia* or harmony offers an explanation. There are two kinds of harmony, that resulting from a participation in one nature, and that arising from a common comparison. The first harmony is an association of univocity, the second, of analogy or proportion. Since between the nature of God and the nature of man there is an infinite distance, there is no question of a harmony of the first type, univocity. In the second, however, there are three distinctions to be made. The first concerns whether a similar comparison is to be drawn between two things to two other things, as the relation of man to animal is similar to the relation of white to colored; the second, a dissimilar comparison of two to one, as of the relation of animal and food to health; the third comparison is between two things to one another, as is understood when one is the imitation or similitude of the other. In the latter case, the similitude does not harmonize with that to which it is like by means of a third member, but only through itself. It is in this respect that the soul is the expressed image of God. The harmony found here posits in one extreme an inclination and need, and in the other, quietude and sufficiency, and since one is made for the other, it is ordered to that end, so that it is in God that the inclination of the soul reaches a terminus in rest, and its indigence is filled.[2]

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[1] Ad illud quod obiicitur, quod quaelibet creatura distat in infinitum, dicendum quod verum est de illa distantia quae opponitur participationi et adaequationi. Cum enim Deus sit infinitus, nihil potest ei adaequari; cum sit simplex, non potest aliquam naturam tertiam cum aliqua creatura participare. Et penes has similitudines nullo modo attenditur ratio imaginis in homine, sed penes aliam duplicem, scilicet ordinis et consimilis habitudinis, secundum quam rationalis creatura non distat in infinitum a creatore, sed valde appropinquat ei, sicut ostensum est supra. *Ibid.*

[2] . . . dicendum, quod est convenientia per unius naturae participationem vel per comparationem communem. Prima convenientia facit communitatem univocationis, secunda communitatem analogiae sive proportionis.

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B. The Supernatural Beauty of the Soul

Although the soul is beautiful by its very nature, still it is a beauty damaged by original sin. Through the intervention of Christ and His grace the deformity is not only repaired, but there is added to the soul new beauties in the theological virtues of faith, hope and charity, in the spiritual senses, and in the illumination of the intellect extending even to ecstacy. The soul as the reformed image of God is more beautiful than it was even when in its original state. So purified, illumined, and perfect does it become that it now resembles the nine choirs of angels.[1]

How can it be that there are few men who contemplate the First Principle who is so near them? Saint Bonaventure points out that the cause lies in the fact that souls, distracted by many disturbing cares, do not enter into their memory to recall the First Principle; blinded by vain imaginations, they do not recollect themselves by the use of the intelligence; and seduced by the passions, they no longer return to themselves by a desire of interior sweetness and

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Et haec est secundum triplicem differentiam: aut secundum similem comparationem duorum ad duo, ut sicut homo ad animal, ita albedo se habet ad colorem; aut secundum dissimilem comparationem duorum ad unum, ut animalis et cibi ad sanitatem; vel secundum comparationem duorum ad invicem, ut puta cum unum est imitatio vel similitudo alterius. Similitudo enim non convenit cum consimili in tertio, sed se ipsa. Sic est in proposito, quia anima est expressa similitudo Dei. Haec convenientia in uno extremo ponit inclinationem et indigentiam, in alio quietationem et sufficientiam, quia unum factum est propter alterum, unde ordinatur ad alterum. Et quoniam ad inclinationis quietationem et indigentiae suppletionem, ubi est sensus, est delectatio sive sequitur, ideo anima cum tali modo quietatur a Deo, fruitur eo. I S. 1, 3, 2 (I 38—39).

[1] Quibus adeptis, efficitur spiritus noster hierarchicus ad conscendendum sursum secundum conformitatem ad illam Ierusalem supernam, in quam nemo intrat, nisi prius per gratiam ipsa in cor descendat, sicut vidit Ioannes in Apocalypsi sua. (Cap. 21, 2). Tunc autem in cor descendit, quando per reformationem imaginis, per virtutes theologicas et per obiectationes spiritualium sensuum et suspensiones excessuum efficitur spiritus noster hierarchicus, scilicet purgatus, illuminatur et perfectus. *Itiner. Mentis in Deum* IV, 4; min. ed., pp. 326—327.

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spiritual joy. Completely immersed in external, sensible things, they can no longer recognize that they are the image of God.[1] The cause of this helpless condition is original sin, irremedial as far as man is concerned. In the Person of Christ, eternal Truth Incarnate, is found the means of man's arising to a new consideration of eternal Truth within himself, so that the ladder connecting God and man is repaired. There is no other way that anyone, no matter how naturally gifted or highly educated, can find within himself delight in God except through the mediating of Christ, who said, *Ego sum ostium.*[2] So that if we wish to enjoy interior converse with Truth in a garden of delights, we must pass through this door, presenting as a condition of entrance, faith, hope, and love. These three theological virtues purify, illumine, and perfect the soul, repairing in it the damaged image of God.[3] They give it a heavenly quality, make it a member of the Church Militant, and a daughter of the heavenly Jerusalem.[4]

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[1] Mirum autem videtur, cum ostensum sit, quod Deus sit ita propinquus mentibus nostris, quod tam paucorum est in se ipsis primum principium speculari. Sed ratio est in promptu, quia mens humana, sollicitudinibus distracta, non intrat ad se per memoriam; phantasmatibus obnubilata, non redit ad se per intelligentiam; concupiscentiis illecta, ad se ipsam nequaquam revertitur per desiderium suavitatis internae et laetitiae spiritualis. Ideo totaliter in his sensibilibus iacens, non potest ad se tanquam ad Dei imaginem reintrare. *Ibid.*, p. 324.

[2] John 10, 9.

[3] Et quoniam, ubi quis ceciderit, necesse habet ibidem recumbere, nisi apponat quis et adiiciat, ut resurgat, non potuit anima nostra perfecte ab his sensibilibus relevari ad contuitum sui et aeternae Veritatis in se ipsa, nisi Veritas, assumpta forma humana in Christo, fieret sibi scala reparans priorem scalam, quae fracta fuerat in Adam. Ideo, quantumcumque sit illuminatus quis lumine naturae et scientiae acquisitae, non potest intrare in se, ut in se ipso delectetur in Domino, nisi mediante Christo, qui dicit: Ego sum ostium. (Ioan. 10, 9) . . . [See also *Coll. in Hexaem.* VII (V 365—368) for the necessity of faith for entering into oneself and finding truth.] Ad hoc autem ostium non appropinquamus, nisi in ipsum credamus, speremus, et amemus. Necesse est igitur, si reintrare volumus ad fruitionem Veritatis tanquam ad paradisum, quod ingrediamur per fidem, spem et caritatem mediatoris Dei et hominum Iesu Christi, qui est tanquam lignum vitae in medio paradisi. *Itiner. Mentis in Deum* IV, 2; min. ed., pp. 324—325.

[4] *Ibid.*, 3.

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From the practice of the theological virtues the soul recovers the spiritual senses, which deal with mental perceptions concerning truths contemplated.[1] By faith in the uncreated Word, who is the Word and Splendor of the Father, the soul recovers spiritual hearing and sight: hearing in order to listen to the teachings of Christ, and sight to see the splendors of His light.[2] In sighing hopefully after the inspired Word, desire and love revive in it the sense of spiritual smell. The Incarnate Word rewards its embrace of love by filling it with delights surpassing description, and in this way the soul recovers the senses of spiritual taste and touch.[3]

Saint Bonaventure becomes eloquent in explaining the rapture of the soul which has recovered the use of the spiritual senses through grace and the theological virtues. The language becomes metaphorical and charged with overtones. By these new senses it is able to see sovereign Beauty, to hear ineffable harmonies, to breathe invigorating perfumes, to taste infinite suavity, and to embrace supremely delightful beauty. It is thus prepared to enter upon the *ravissements de l'exstase* through devotion, admiration, and the transports of holy joy. Saint Bonaventure adds that no one can understand this without the aid of supernatural grace, for here it is the aspiration of the heart that leads to knowledge more than the considerations of the mind. This idea was to be echoed later by Pascal when he said that the heart has reasons that the reason knows not of.[4]

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[1] Sensus vero spirituales dicunt perceptiones mentales circa veritatem contemplandam. *Brevil.* V, 6, 6; min. ed., p. 187.

[2] . . . per fidem credit in Christum tanquam in Verbum et splendor Patris (Ioan. 1, 1 et Hebr. 1, 3), recuperat spiritualem auditum et visum: auditum ad suscipiendum Christi sermones, visum ad considerandum illius lucis splendores. *Itiner. Ment. in Deum* IV, 3; min. ed., p. 325.

[3] Dum autem spe suspirat ad suscipiendum Verbum inspiratum, per desiderium et affectum recuperat spiritualem olfactum. Dum caritate complectitur Verbum incarnatum, ut suspiciens ab ipso delectationem et ut transiens in illud per ecstaticum amorem, recuperat gustum et tactum. *Ibid.*, pp. 325—326.

[4] . . . quia magis est in experientia affectuali quam in consideratione rationali. In hoc namque gradu, reparatis sensibus interioribus ad sentiendum summe pulcrum, audiendum summe harmonicum, odorandum summe odoriferum, degustandum summe suave, apprehendendum summe delecta-

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The richness of the comparisons attributed to the soul in which grace dwells is derived from the mystical rhapsodies of the *Canticle of Canticles*. The soul is inundated with a superabundance of devotion, admiration, and joy. Its devotion makes it resemble a column of vapor exhaling the fragance of myrrh and incense;[1] through its admiration of the heavenly Spouse, it becomes like the dawn, the moon, the sun, according to the degree of light which ravishes it;[2] the exuberance of its joy inebriates with the most suave delights the soul entirely absorbed in its Beloved.[3] Saint Bonaventure explained that the five spiritual senses and also the twelve fruits of the Holy Ghost are added to the beatitudes because of the latter's perfection and plenitude, not, however, as consisting of new habits, but rather, as states of enjoyment and means of employing spiritual knowledge with which the souls of the just are filled and consoled.[4]

It would seem that Saint Bonaventure had reached the extent of his capacity in extolling the loveliness and beauty of the soul when grace established the new order of the theological virtues and the spiritual senses. But his distinctly aesthetic view of all reality, natural and supernatural, led him to see still more. The soul, elevated by grace, is hierarchized in nine levels corresponding

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bile, disponitur anima ad mentales excessus, scilicet per devotionem, admirationem et exsultationem, secundum illas tres exclamationes, quae fiunt in Canticis canticorum. *Ibid.*

[1] Cant. III, 6.

[2] Cant. VI, 3.

[3] Cant. VIII, 5. Quarum prima fit per abundantiam devotionis, per quam fit anima sicut virgula fumi ex aromatibus myrrhae et thuris (Cant. III, 6): secunda per excellentiam admirationis, per quam fit anima sicut aurora, luna et sol, secundum processum illuminationum suspendentium animam ad admirandum sponsum consideratum; tertia per superabundantiam exultationis, per quam fit anima suavissimae delectationis deliciis affluens, innixa totaliter super dilectum suum. *Itiner. Mentis in Deum*, IV, 3; min. ed., d. 326.

[4] Ad has beatitudines propter sui perfectionem et plenitudinem duodecim fructus Spiritus et quinque sensus spirituales consequuntur; qui non dicunt novos habitus, sed status delectationum et usus spiritualium speculationum, quibus replentur et consolantur spiritus viorum iustorum. *Brevil.* V, 6, 1; min. ed., p. 183.

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in function to the nine choirs of angels. More than this, he found another analogous hierarchization of the Church Militant, embracing, not only the ecclesiastical hierarchy as commonly understood, but also the religious orders, ending with the seraphic Saint Francis constituting the highest order that the human soul can attain in this life even with the aid of grace — that of ecstacy. To have a comprehensive view of what Saint Bonaventure was endeavoring to explain one would have to read in succession the principal passages where it is treated.[1] No passage is exactly like another, complementing, but never contradicting one another.

Gradually, as the soul becomes more perfect, it undertakes the action of announcing and intimating to men what is the will of God and leading them after it; further, it assumes the function of affirming, strengthening, and commanding the realization of the designs of Providence; and lastly, it receives the favor of obtaining knowledge of mysteries, the revelation of particular secrets, and finally, intimate union with God. These nine prerogatives correspond to the nine choirs of angels, such that the first three pertain to nature in the human soul; the next three, to knowledge and art; and the last three, to grace. Enriched with these gifts and adorned with the three theological virtues, the soul, on entering upon itself, finds there the heavenly Jerusalem; on the other hand, when it considers the choirs of angels, it sees that God resides in them also, and operates through them. Since God dwells in the soul by His gifts, one is lead to understand how He is in all things, and works in them and through them.[2]

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[1] *Collat. in Hexaem.* V, 424—431; 437—444; *Itiner. Ment. in Deum* IV, 4; min. ed., pp. 326—327; *Brevil.* V, 6; min. ed., pp. 182—188.

[2] Tunc autem in cor descendit, quando per reformationem imaginis, per virtutes theologicas et per oblectationes spiritualium sensuum et suspensiones excessuum efficitur spiritus noster hierarchicus, scilicet purgatus, illuminatus et perfectus. Sic etiam gradibus novem ordinum insignitur, dum ordinate in eo interius disponitur nuntiatio, dictatio, ductio, ordinatio, roboratio, imperatio, suseptio, revelatio, unctio (See Dionys., *de Eccles. Hierarch.* c. 4, 10. See also *Collationes in Hexaem.* XXII.) quae gradatim correspondent novem ordinibus Angelorum, ita quod primi trium praedictorum gradus respiciunt in mente humana naturam, tres sequentes industriam, et tres postremi gratiam. Quibus habitis, anima intrando in

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When one considered the natural powers of the soul, the memory, the intellect, and the will, and recognised in them an image of the Trinity, one was aided chiefly in the investigation by philosophy. In the present case, where the reformed image of God is found through the three theological virtues, incorporated into the soul under the action of grace, it is primarily to revelation that one turns. Of the three virtues, it is above all charity that reforms the soul, for it contains under its double aspect of love of God and love of neighbor, the whole law. But since Christ, as the Incarnate Word, is God, and also, at the same time, man, and therefore our neighbor, in the love of Him is accomplished fully the double precept. On this point, Bonaventure shows his artistic insight, in stressing the union of opposites, the harmonizing of dissonants, the bringing together of extremes. Behind Saint Bonaventure is the supreme Artist who first planned the arrangement. It took an artistic mind to see the plan, and of such a mold was Saint Bonaventure's. Christ, then is both our God and our neighbor; our King and our friend; the Uncreated Word and the Incarnate Word; our Creator and our Redeemer; our Beginning and our End. He is the supreme Pontiff who purifies, illumines, and perfects His spouse, that is to say, the entire Church and each individual soul.[1]

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se ipsam, intrat in supernam Ierusalem, ubi ordines Angelorum considerans, videt in eis Deum, qui habitans in eis omnes eorum operatur operationes. . . . Ex quibus omnibus videtur "Deus omnia in omnibus" (Epist. I Cor. 15, 28) per contemplationem ipsius in mentibus, in quibus habitat per dona affluentissimae caritatis. *Itiner. Mentis ad Deum* IV, 4; min. ed., p. 327.

[1] Ad huius autem speculationis gradum specialiter et praecipue adminiculatur consideratio sacrae Scripturae divinitus immissae, sicut philosophia ad praecedentem. Sacra enim Scriptura principaliter est de operibus reparationis. Unde et ipsa praecipue agit de fide, spe et caritate, per quas virtutes habet anima reformari, et specialissime de caritate. De qua dicit Apostolus (Epist. I Tim. 1, 5), quid est finis praecepti, secundum quod est de corde puro et conscientia bona et fide non ficta. Ipsa est plenitudo Legis, ut dicit idem. Et Salvator noster asserit, totam Legem Prophetasque pendere in duobus praeceptis eiusdem, scilicet dilectione Dei et proximi; quae duo innuuntur in uno sponso Ecclesiae Iesu Christo, qui simul est proximus et Deus, simul frater et dominus, simul etiam rex et amicus, simul Verbum increatum et incarnatum, formator noster et reformator, ut alpha

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Besides the order derived from the reconciling of extremes, Saint Bonaventure continually sees things arranged in threes, the perfect order exemplified in the Blessed Trinity. Holy Scripture, chief guide in seeking the reformed image of God in the soul, teaches the way of purification, illumination, and perfection, according to the law of nature, the written law, and the law of grace. Taking the body of Scripture, he says the law of Moses purifies, the revelation of the prophets illumines, and the evangelical law perfects. Considered under a triple spiritual sense, there is found in Scripture a moral sense which purifies, by teaching how to live well; an allegoric sense which illumines, by enlightening the intellect; and an anagogic sense which perfects the soul by the suave delights of wisdom, and the other means mentioned above, so that within itself, the soul can contemplate God, and enjoy repose and peace.[1]

Spiritual beauty, Saint Bonaventure reiterates, is greater than bodily beauty, and this spiritual beauty consists in wisdom. Wisdom is more beautiful than the sun, the beauty of which it by far surpasses; more beautiful than the disposition of the stars; wisdom is superior in its eternity, dignity, and causality. The physical light of the sun which alternately rises and sets is but a spark compared

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et omega (Apoc. 1, 8); qui etiam summus hierarchia est purgans et illuminans et perficiens sponsam, scilicet totam Ecclesiam et quamlibet animam sanctam. *Ibid.*, 5, p. 328.

[1] De hoc igitur hierarcha et ecclesiastica hierarchia est tota sacra Scriptura, per quam docemus purgari, illuminari et perfici, et hoc secundum triplicem legem in ea traditam, scilicet naturae, Scripturae et gratiae; vel potius secundum triplicem partem eius principalem, legem scilicet Moysaicam purgantem, revelationem propheticam illustrantem et eruditionem evangelicam perficientem (Cfr. Brevil. Prolog. 1 seq.); vel potissimum secundum triplicem eius intelligentiam spiritualem: tropologicam quae purgat ad honestatem vitae; allegoricam, quae illuminat ad claritatem intelligentiae; anagogicam, quae perficit per excessus mentales et sapientiae perceptiones suavissimas, secundum virtutes praedictas tres theologicas et sensus spirituales reformatos et excessus tres supradictos et actus mentis hierarchicos, quibus ad interiora regreditur mens nostra, ut ibidem speculetur Deum in splendoribus Sanctorum (Psalm. 109, 3) et in eisdem tanquam in cubilibus dormiat in pace et requiescat, sponso adiurante, quod non excitetur, donec de eius voluntate procedat. *Ibid.*, 6, pp. 328—329.

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to the spiritual light of wisdom. Commenting on the psalm: *O quam pulcra est casta generatio cum claritate*, Saint Bonaventure says that the beauty of the chaste is luminous with the brightness of wisdom.[1] The spiritual beauty of chastity is found especially in virginity. The reason for the great beauty of virginity lies in the fact that the greatest beauty consists in perfect integrity and cleanliness, both of heart and body, according to which Christ Himself, the fountain and origin of all beauty, is conformed. In this virtue is found not only the *habitus* of continency, and the state of virtue, but also a special loveliness. Hence it is worthy of praise because of its eminent virtue, beauty, and dignity.[2]

The loftiness of thought and the multiplication of exalted comparisons and analogies produce an intellectual vertigo for a reader with a vision less sublime than that of the Seraphic Doctor. Yet persevering study reveals the admirable order of the plan of gradation and shows that the artistic soul of Saint Bonaventure was endeavoring to give his reader some share in the extraordinary beauty he perceived in a soul penetrated with divine grace. It was spiritual

[1] Est enim haec, scilicet sapientia, speciosior sole, quia pulcritudo spiritualis praeeminet corporali; supra eodem (Vers. 10 sequitur Malach. 4, 2) "Super salutem et speciem dilexi eam"; sole scilicet materiali, quia est pulcritudo solis iustitiae, de quo Malachiae quarto: "Orietur vobis timentibus nomen meum sol iustitiae." Et super omnem stellarum dispositionem repetendum; speciosior est. Ipse enim stellas fecit, Genesis primo (Vers. 16. Seq. locus est Sap. 4, 1) et constans est, quod plus de pulcritudine sibi retinuit, quam stellis dederit; ideo supra quarto: "O quam pulcra est casta generatio cum claritate" scilicet sapientiae. Luci comparata, scilicet tam solis quam stellarum, invenitur prior, scilicet aeternitate, dignitate, causalitate; unde Ecclesiastici vigesimo quarto: (Vers. 6) "Ego feci, ut oriretur in caelum lumen indefiniens;" Glossa: "Lux corporalis, quae modo occidit, modo oritur, luci spirituali comparata, scintilla videtur." *Comment. in Sapientiam* VII, 29 (VI 159).

[2] Virginitas dicit tum continentiae habitum, tum virtutis statum, tum, decorem praecipuum; hinc et laudabilis est propter eminentiam virtutis, pulcritudinis, et dignitatis et praeferenda aliis castitatis speciebus. . . . Quantum ad eminentiam pulcritudinis: quia maxima pulcritudo consistit in perfecta integritate et munditia tam in corde quam in corpore, ex qua virginalis castitas ipsi Christo, totius pulcritudinis fonti et origini, facit conformem. *Quaest. Disput. De Perfectione Evangelica* III, 3 (V 176).

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beauty that he loved and described with such eloquence that even intellects of more mundane timbre are filled with admiration of the image of God, with the manner of his describing it, and finally, of him who was able to see and express so powerfully what was almost beyond description.[1] There is probably no point where Saint Bonaventure waxes so eloquent as he does over the supernatural beauty of the soul, especially when speaking of the soul of Christ.[2]

C. Beauty in the Angels

Saint Bonaventure gives two definitions of an angel. The first is taken from Saint John Damascene: *An angel is an incorporeal substance, intelligent, always active, possessing free will, ministering to God, and receiving immortality, not from its nature, but from grace.* The second definition is from Pseudo-Dionysius: *An angel is the image of God, a manifestation of hidden light, a bright mirror, most splendid, most immaculate, most incontaminable, undefiled, receiving, as is fitting, the total beauty of deiformitas, of God-likeness, making to shine forth in it the goodness of silence, which is in withdrawal.* Saint Bonaventure shows that the difference between the two definitions lies in the fact that the first describes the angel as to its *esse*, and the second, as to its *bene esse*.[3]

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[1] Multi sunt, qui amant pulcritudinem; pulcritudo autem non est in exterioribus, sed ipsius effigies; vero autem pulcritudo est in illa pulcritudine sapientiae. *Coll. in Hexaem.* XX, 24 (V 429).

[2] See *Quaestiones Disputatae*, "De Scientia Christi" (V, 3 seqq.).

[3] Angelus autem sic notificatur a Damasceno (De fide oseyod. II, 3, PG 94, 866): "Angelus est substantia incorporea, intellectualis, semper mobilis, arbitrio libera, Deo ministrans, gratia, non natura immortalitatem suscipiens." Dionysius (De div. nom. 4, 22; PG 3, 723) autem aliter definit angelum sic: "Angelus est imago Dei, manifestatio occulti luminis, speculum clarum, splendidissimum, immaculatum, incontaminatum, incoinquinatum, suscipiens, sicut conveniens est, totam speciositatem boniformis deiformitatis, et in se resplendere faciens bonitatem silentii, quod est in abditis." Differunt autem hac duae notificationes, quia prima describit angelum quantum ad esse, secunda vero non solum quantum ad esse, sed etiam quantum ad bene esse. II S. 9, Praenotata; min. ed. p. 235.

Intellectus autem secundae definitionis sic potest haberi. Definitur namque ibi angelus non solum quantum ad esse naturae, sed etiam quantum

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The second definition applies here. An angel, it says, is by nature an image of God; by grace, a similitude; and by glory, *deiformitas.* The notion of image is shown in a two-fold way: by a looking above, and by a looking below. By looking above, the angel is the image of God, and as such, is *capax Dei*, capable of participating in God; by looking below, it is a manifestation of light, because it presents to those below whatever lights it receives.

Further than this, an angel is by grace a similitude of God, first, by its position in looking above; secondly, by privation, in looking below. By the former, it is a clear and most brilliant mirror; for grace coming down upon it conserves, adorns, and completes its nature; by the latter, that is, by privation, it is a similitude, because there are removed the triple causes of ugliness which remove grace and these are types of sins. As elsewhere virtue is called beautiful, so here its opposite is shown as ugly.[1]

Likewise, the *deiformitas* of the angel through glory has also a double comparison: above and below. By comparison to God above, it becomes *deiform*, since it receives beauty from God. Looking below, it manifests to others the divine goodness with which it itself is resplendent. But paradoxically, it is silence that says this, because no one can be joined intimately with God, says Saint Bonaventure,

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ad bene esse; et ideo notificatur hic angelus, in quantum habet Dei imaginem per naturam, in quantum habet similitudinem per gratiam, in quantum habet deiformitatem per gloriam. Ratio autem imaginis exprimitur quantum ad duo, scilicet quantum ad id quod sursum est, et quantum ad id quod deorsum. Primum tangitur, cum dicit: "Angelus est imago Dei; "secundum cum subiungit: "manifestatio occulti luminis." Imago enim est, in quantum capax Dei est et particeps esse potest; sed manifestatio luminis est, in quantum illuminationes, quas suscipit, inferioribus ostendit. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

[1] Similiter quantum ad similitudinem gratiae describitur quantum ad duplicem respectum: ad sursum per positionem, ad deorsum per privationem. Comparatio ad sursum tangitur, cum dicitur: "speculum clarum, splendidissimum" ubi notatur, quod gratia desursum eniens naturam conservat, naturam decorat, naturam consummat; ... Comparatio vero ad id quod deorsum est, per modum privationis notatur, cum dicit: "Immaculatum, incontaminatum, incoinquinatum;" per quae tria removet triplicem foeditatem ab angelo, quae repugnat gratiae. *Ibid.*

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unless he remains quiet in Him where all exterior sound is hushed. Then silence speaks in solitude.[1]

Although of a very high degree, still the beauty of the angels is a creaturely beauty. For beauty is found in God and in creatures in different ways. In the supreme hierarchy of the Trinity there is beauty of the highest perfection because in the perfect equality and similitude of the Three Persons of the Trinity lies the highest and most complete beauty. Beauty in the angelic hierarchy, however, is of the genus of creatures. Although different from that of the Trinity, it nevertheless results from a harmonious relation. Their mutual relation will not be among equal members, as in the Trinity. The harmony of created beauty is based on inequality, arranged in such a way as to produce from the totality of multiplicity a unity resulting in beauty. No creature has either the fulness of perfection in itself or it would be God. Neither has any creature the same degree of perfection as any other creature. Yet in this diversity there can be found a proportionate gradation ordered in such a way as to form a harmonious whole. In this lies their beauty. It will be perfect of its kind with the beauty proper to creatures. A hierarchy is also found in the ranks of the saints, where some are apostles, some martyrs or confessors; others of different ranks. Thus there is found here also a certain gradation. Even among saints of the same rank, no two are equal or exactly alike. A similar diversity ought to be understood among the spiritual angels. Thus within the same order should be placed a certain gradation and a certain order. But the differences found between angels of the same order should not be

[1] Similiter deiformitas gloriae tangitur secundum duplicem comparationem, scilicet ad id quod sursum est, et ad id quod deorsum est. Ad id quod sursum est, per hoc quod dicit: "Suscipiens, sicut conveniens est, totam speciositatem boniformis deiformitatis." Comparatione enim ad Deum deiformis efficitur, cum speciositatem a Deo suscipit. Comparatio vero ad id quod inferius est, notatur, cum dicitur: "Et in se resplendere faciens bonitatem silentii, quod est in abditis;" hoc autem est, dum refulgentiam divinae bonitatis, quam ipse habet, ostendit aliis. Hanc autem vocat silentium, quia nemo potest intime Deo coniungi, quin in illo quietetur, et quin omnis strepitus exterior quiescat, et ideo vocat silentium in abditis. Et sic patet, quid sit hierarchis, et etiam quid sit angelus. *Ibid.*

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so great as that found between angels of different orders. Saint Bonaventure says that, while the reasons given are not of a kind to force agreement, yet they ought to be admitted.[1]

In so far as it is able, the hierarchy of the angels represents the supreme hierarchy of the Trinity where is found order and perfect beauty in the highest unity and equality. But because of the limitations which the status of creature imposes on the angels, the order and beauty found in them will be characterized by diversity and even a certain disparity. Since the harmony of perfect unity is impossible, there is found instead a harmony made from diversity through the gradation of many. The reason for this is that although God had but one Son, yet He did not produce a single angel only, but rather He produced many of them. The Son of God perfectly satisfied the Father and perfectly imitated Him, but a single angel was not able thus to express his Creator perfectly. Hence, it was fitting that God

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[1] Conclusio, "Probabile est, inter Angelos eiusdem ordinis quandam reperiri gradationem, licet inter eos non sit tantus excessus, quantus est inter Angelos diversorum ordinum." Respondeo: Dicendum, quod sicut in suprema hierarchia *propter summam perfectionem* reperitur pulcritudo ex perfectissima aequalitate et similitudine parium, sic in angelica hierarchia reperitur pulcritudo in genere creaturae ex quadam gradatione disparium. In his enim duobus modis consistit pulcritudo et convenientia, sicut dicit Augustinus de Vera Religione. Sed in suprema hierarchia ex sola similitudine et aequalitate potest esse perfectissima pulcritudo, quia in qualibet personarum aequalium est omnimoda et summa perfectio. In angelica vero hierarchia, quia illi spiritus, qui coordinantur, non habent singillatim summam perfectionem, necesse est, quod ex quadam convenienti diversitate, in quadam proportionali gradatione consurgat quaedam convenientia ordinata et pulcritudo in genere creaturae perfecta. Et ideo sicut in Sanctis intelligimus, quod unus est ordo Apostolorum, alter Martyrum, alter Confessorum, et sic in aliis; et tamen in his ordinibus est gradatio quaedam, nec potest omnimoda reperiri aequalitas, cum de quolibet Sancto possit dici: *Non est inventus similis illi, qui conservaret legem Excelsi:* sic suo modo intelligendum est in spiritibus angelicis. Ideo et in eodem ordine ponenda est quaedam gradatio et quidam ordo, licet non sit tantus excessus, quantus reperitur in Angelis diversorum ordinum. — Unde rationes hoc probantes concedendae sunt, quamvis non sint multum cogentes. Hoc enim videtur sentire tam Magister in littera, quam Dionysius in libro de Angelica Hierarchia. 2 S., 9, 1, 8; min. ed., p. 256.

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should create them in a great multitude, or in an order consisting of many forms.[1] From this it can be seen that the harmony of creatures in general, and of angels in particular, arises not from equality, but from a harmonious gradation of things which are disparate.[2]

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[1] Ad illud quod obiicitur, quod haec hierarchia repraesentat summam; dicendum, quod repraesentat, in quantum potest; et cum in illa suprema hierarchia sit ordo et perfecta pulcritudo in summa unitate et aequalitate, et haec in hierarchia creata non possint simul coexistere propter limitationem creaturae: ideo est ibi ponere ordinem et pulcritudinem cum diversitate et quadam disparilitate, ut quod non poterat hic fieri ex unitate, saltem impleretur ex plurium diversitate. — Et haec est ratio, quare Deus, cum habeat unum Filium, non tamen produxit unum solum Angelum sed multos, quia Filius perfecte implet Patrem et imitatur, ut dicit Augustinus (Libr. VI de Trin. c. 10, n. 11), sed Angelus perfecte non exprimit Creatorem: ideo decuit eos creare in magna multitudine vel in multiformi ordine. *Ibid.*, ad 4.

[2] Ad illud quod obiicitur, quod convenientia facit pulcritudinem; dicendum, quod, sicut ibidem dicit Augustinus, convenientia non tamen surgit ex aequalitate, sed etiam ex disparium congruenti gradatione; et sic in Angelis intelligendum est esse. *Ibid.*, ad 2.

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CHAPTER IV

UNCREATED BEAUTY

Saint Bonaventure's whole aesthetic theory took its rise from a deeply metaphysical source — that of exemplarism. Whoever considers being under the aspect of exemplar, says Saint Bonaventure, will most truly find himself in the field of metaphysics. He arrives at this conclusion in the following way.

Metaphysics begins with the consideration of the principles governing created and particular substances. From here it rises to that of the universal and uncreated, to that Being which contains the notion of principle, means, and final end. In metaphysics the latter terms are used, instead of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. When metaphysics rises to that Being as originating principle of all things, it harmonizes with physics, for this science treats of the origin of things. On the other hand, when it rises to that Being as final end, it harmonizes with ethics, which has as its purpose to regulate acts so that they will be directed to the *summum bonum*, as to the last end. Happiness is offered to the reflective mind by way of incentive. But the case is different when one considers metaphysics under the notion of exemplarism. Here there is no other science which can claim common ground, so that when one regards that Being as Exemplar of all things, one is most truly in the field of metaphysics.[1]

[1] Metaphysicus autem, licet assurgat ex consideratione principiorum substantiae creatae et particularis ad universalem et increatam et ad illud esse, ut habet rationem principii, medii et finis ultimi, non tamen in ratione Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Metaphysicus enim assurgit ad illud esse considerandum in ratione principii omnia originantis; et in hoc convenit cum physico, qui origines rerum considerat. Assurgit etiam ad considerandum illud esse in ratione ultimi finis; et in hoc convenit cum morali sive

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The same observation was made by Étienne Gilson when he says that for Saint Bonaventure exemplarism is the heart of metaphysics.[1]

It was Saint Bonaventure's own personal, artistic frame of mind, united to an ardent faith which enabled him so perfectly to synthesize faith and its manifestations into an aesthetic metaphysics with the triple division of emanation, exemplarism, and illumination.[2] Surely the Christian philosopher and lover of wisdom should understand and appreciate the position of Saint Bonaventure, who begins by the solid foundation of faith, and proceeds through the serene use of reason, to arrive at the suavity of contemplation.[3]

The foundation for the three-fold view of metaphysics Saint Bonaventure places in the Blessed Trinity itself. The unity of the Divine Nature amid the multiplicity of appropriations offers the prototype of metaphysics' division into emanation, exemplarism, and the illumination leading back to God.

Although all that is essential is found equally and indifferently in all the Persons of the Blessed Trinity, it can be said that unity applies to the Father, truth to the Son, and goodness to the Holy Ghost. Also in the Father is the foundation for the notion of beginning; in the Son, of exemplarizing; in the Holy Ghost, of finalizing. Again, omnipotence can be attributed to the Father, omniscience to the Son, and benevolence to the Holy Ghost. It is not to be understood, however, that these appropriations are to be taken as proper to the

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ethico, qui reducit omnia ad unum summum bonum ut ad finem ultimum, considerando felicitatem sive practicam, sive speculativam. Sed ut considerat illud esse in ratione omnia exemplantis, cum nullo communicat et verus est metaphysicus. *Coll. in Hexaem.* I, 13 (V 331).

[1] Étienne Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 120. "... l'exemplarisme, c'est le coeur même de la metaphysique."

[2] Hoc est medium metaphysicum reducens, et haec est tota nostra metaphysica: de emanatione, de exemplaritate, de consummatione, scilicet illuminari per radios spirituales et reduci ad summum. Et sic eris verus metaphysicus. *Coll. in Hexaem.* I, 17 (V 332).

[3] Ex praedictis ergo apparet, quo ordine et quo auctore pervenitur ad sapientiam. Ordo enim est, ut inchoetur a stabilitate fidei et procedatur per serenitatem rationis, ut perveniatur ad suavitatem contemplationis; quem insinuavit Christus, cum dixit: Ego sum via, veritas, et vita. *Sermo IV de Rebus Theologicis*, "Christus unus omnium magister," 15 (V 571).

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respective Persons, but that they lead our understanding to the knowledge of what is proper to the Trinity, namely, that they are three Persons.[1] Since the Principle under consideration is the most noble and perfect, there are found here the most noble and general conditions of being. These concern, not the substance in itself, considered as the supposita, but rather, our understanding of what it is. One signifies being as connumerable, and this obtains by its identity with itself; the true signifies being according as it is knowable, and this obtains by its identity with its proper form; the good signifies being as communicable, and this obtains from its identity with its proper operation. And as this triple order is seen as that which is according to the intelligible, a further observation may be grasped by the intellect, that the true presupposes the one, and the good presupposes the one and the good. Hence these appropriations may be attributed to the First Principle in the highest degree because they are perfect and general, and they may also be attributed to the three Persons because they ordered: to the Father, the most complete unity because He is the origin of the Persons; to the Son, the highest truth because He proceeds from the Father as the Word; to the Holy Ghost, the highest good, because He proceeds from both as love and gift.[2]

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[1] Licet omnia essentialia omnibus personis aequaliter et indifferenter conveniant, tamen Patri dicitur appropriari unitas, Filio veritas, Spiritui sancto bonitas.... Iuxta hanc... in Patre ratio principiandi, in Filio ratio exemplandi, in Spiritu sancto ratio finiendi.... Et iuxta... scilicet omnipotentia Patri, omniscientia Filio, voluntas seu benevolentia Spiritui sancto. Haec autem dicuntur appropriari, non quia fiant propria, cum semper sint communia; sed quia ducunt ad intelligentiam et notitiam propriorum, videlicet trium personarum. *Brevil.* 1, 6, 1; min. ed., p. 47.

[2] Intelligentia autem et ratio praedictorum haec est. Quia enim principium est nobilissimum et perfectissimum, ideo conditiones entis nobilissimae et generalissimae in eo reperiuntur in summo. Hae autem sunt unum, verum, bonum, quae non contrahunt ens secundum supposita, sed secundum rationem. Nam unum nominat ens ut connumerabile, et hoc habet per indivisionem sui in se; verum, secundum quod cognoscibile, et hoc habet per indivisionem sui a propria specie; bonum, secundum quod communicabile, et hoc habet per indivisionem sui a propria operatione. (Cfr. IV S. d. 14, 2, 1, 1). Et quia haec triplex indivisio se habet secundum

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Furthermore, since the supremely one and first holds the notion of beginning, and the supremely beautiful and comely holds the notion of exemplarizing, and the supremely proficient, the notion of finalizing, as Aristotle says, there arises the appropriations of efficiency to the Father, exemplarity to the Son, and finality to the Holy Ghost.[1]

From the first and highest principle there flows all that there is possible to be; from the highest exemplar, all that there is to know, and to the final end, all desires are directed. Therefore the First Being should be in the superlative degree omnipotent, omniscient, and benevolent. For the first and highest unity's turning back upon itself by a complete and perfect reflection there is evidenced the highest power, and most wise truth, and the most benevolent goodness, and these are appropriated to the Blessed Trinity because in them is implied an order. Will presupposes knowledge, and will and knowledge both presuppose power and strength, because knowledge implies within a power of knowing. It is chiefly in the propriations of power, wisdom, and will that Holy Scripture most frequently praises the Trinity, Saint Bonaventure says. And since he had plombed the depths of Holy Scripture as the richest source and surest guide to truth, it is not difficult to understand why the notion of the power, wisdom, and goodness of God penetrates his metaphysical thought and takes the form there of emanation, exemplarism, and the return to God by illumination.[2]

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ordinem quantum ad rationem intelligendi, ita quod verum praesupponit unum, et bonum praesupponit unum et verum: hinc est, quod haec attribuntur primo principio in summo, quia perfecta et generalia; et appropriantur tribus personis, quia ordinata; et ideo summe unum Patri, qui est origo personarum; summe verum Filio, qui est a Patre ut verbum; summe bonum Spiritui sancto, qui est ab utroque et amor et donum. *Ibid.*, I, 6, 2; min. ed., pp. 47—48.

[1] Rursus, quia summe unum et primum tenet rationem principiandi et originandi; summe pulcrum et speciosum tenet rationem exprimendi et exemplandi; summe proficuum et bonum tenet rationem finiendi, quia "bonum et finis idem" (Aristot. Ethic. I, 2): hinc oritur tertia ratio appropriandi efficientiam Patri, exemplaritatem Filio, finalitatem Spiritui sancto. *Ibid.*, I, 6, 4; min. ed., p. 49.

[2] Quia a primo et summo principio fluit omne posse, a primo et summo exemplari omne scire, ad summum finem tendit omne velle (Aristot.

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Some of the most important statements regarding the category of the aesthetic Saint Bonaventure places in the treatment of the properties that can be appropriated to the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. Even a possible redundancy seems justifiable because of the importance of the various scattered quotations relative to uncreated beauty. This can be further shown in the following section where Eternity is appropriated to the Father, Species to the Image, and *Usus* to the Holy Ghost according to the way that St. Hilary explained the origin or emanation of the Persons. After the First and Third Persons have been briefly touched on, it will be shown how Saint Bonaventure places the ratio of the most perfect beauty in the Second Person, or the Image. This is in accord with what has just been said in the previous paragraph.

He begins by explaining that Eternity ought to be attributed to the Father because, having no emanation or origin, he should have attributed to Him that which signifies a lack of beginning. Such a name is found in the word *eternity* which signifies an absence of beginning and a privation of all initial principle.[1]

The Third Person of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Ghost, proceeding through the mode of will and love, requires a name that expresses the act of will, found in the general word *usus*, which includes in

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Ethic. 1, 2); ideo necesse est, primum esse omnipotentissimum, omnisapientissimum et benevolentissimum. Unitas autem prima et summa, rediens supra se ipsam reditione completa et perfecta, est omnipotentissima, sic et veritas sapientissima, et bonitas benevolentissima; et haec appropriantur, quia ordinem insinuant. Voluntas enim dat praeintelligere cognitionem, et voluntas et cognitio praesupponunt potentiam et virtutem, quia "posse scire est aliquid posse." *Ibid.*, I, 6, 5; min. ed., pp. 49—50.

[1] Respondeo: Dicendum, quod ista appropriatio Hilarii fuit ad explicandam personarum originem sive emanationem. Quoniam igitur persona Patris emanatione et origine caret, ideo illud debuit ei appropriari, quod importat privationem principii. Tale autem est hoc nomen aeternitas. Aeternum enim est quod principio caret. (Richardus de S. Victore, II de Trin. c. 4). Et licet de suo nomine non dicat nisi privationem initii durationis, per appropriationem tamen dicit privationem omnis principii. I S. 31, 2, 1, 3 (I 543—544).

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this context, both the meaning of use and enjoyment, with no distinction.[1]

Most important for our consideration is the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. Because the Son emanates from the Father through a natural mode, He must emanate through a mode of perfect and expressed likeness, for that which nature brings forth is a thing which is like and equal to itself. Containing within Himself the ratio of expressed likeness, He also has the ratio of knowledge, because an expressed likeness belongs to the category of knowledge, as Aristotle pointed out in the *De Anima*. Since through the mode of perfect similitude and ratio, He has within Himself the ratio and exemplar of all things, He must also have the ratio of perfect beauty. As a perfect and expressed Similitude, He is beautiful in comparison to that which He expresses. Having the ratio of knowledge, not only of the individual, but of the whole universe, He has beauty in comparison to which all other beauty is but a copy. This is what Boethius signified when he said that *He who is most beautiful holds the beautiful world in His mind*. From these two ratios, that of expressed likeness, and of knowledge — *expressae similitudinis* and *cognitionis*, the most perfect beauty results. This, again, is in accordance with Saint Augustine's definition of beauty: *Pulcritudo non est aliud quam aequalitas numerosa*. Beauty is nothing else than a numbered equality, or unity in plurality. In comparison to the Father He has the beauty of equality, because He perfectly expresses Him as a beautiful image; in comparison to things He has plurality through their ratios or ideas, as Saint Augustine says: *He is the art, full of the ratios of all living things*. In the Son, then, rightly is found the ratio of all beauty: emanating through the mode of nature, He has the ratio of perfect and expressed similitude; and having this, He has the ratio of knowledge. By the union of the two, He has the

[1] Spiritus vero sanctus procedit per modum voluntatis et amoris; et ita debuit ei appropriari nomen, quod actum exprimit voluntatis; hoc autem est hoc nomen usus. Nam uti est assumere aliquid in facultatem voluntas sive ad utendum sive ad fruendum. Quoniam ergo assumptio ad fruendum est per amorem, similiter ad utendum, quia amor est pondus et ordo (August. X de Trin. c. 11, n. 17). *Ibid.*

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ratio of beauty. It is the name *Species*, implying both the ratio of knowledge and of similitude that will also imply the ratio of beauty. Thus the name *Species* can be appropriated to the Son.[1]

In the eternal generation of the Son from the Father, the Father expressed Himself and this expression is His similitude like to Himself. In this one expression God expressed not only Himself, but also all that was possible for Him to express: all that He was able to do, and all that He wished to do. Everything, then, has been expressed by God in the Son, as in His Art.[2]

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[1] Filius vero emanat per modum naturae; et quia emanat per modum naturae, ideo emanat per modum perfectae et expressae similitudinis. Nam natura producit sibi simile et aequale. Et quia habet in se rationem expressae similitudinis, ideo et cognitionis, quia expressa similitudo est ratio cognoscendi (Arist. III de Anima text. 38 c. 8, ac libr. de Memoria et Reminisc. c. 2, c. 1). Et quia per modum perfectae similitudinis et rationis habet in se rationem et exemplar omnium, inde est, quod habet rationem perfectae pulcritudinis. Quia enim est perfecta et expressa similitudo, ideo pulcher est in comparatione ad eum quem exprimit. Quia vero rationem cognoscendi habet, et non unius tantum, sed totius universitatis; ideo "pulcrum pulcherrimus ipse mundum mente gerens" (Boeth. III, de Consol. metr. 9) pulcritudinem habet in comparatione ad omnem pulcritudinem exemplatam. Ex his duobus relinquitur perfectissima pulcritudo. Sicut enim dicit Augustinus (Libr. de Musica, c. 13, n. 38 cfr. et XXII de Civ. Dei, c. 19, n. 2 et c): "Pulcritudo non est aliud quam aequalitas numerosa." Quoniam igitur in comparatione ad Patrem habet pulcritudienm aequalitatis, quia perfecte exprimit, sicut pulcra imago; in comparatione vero ad res habet omnes rationes secundum quod dicit Augustinus (Libr. VI de Trin. c. 10, n. 11) quod "est ars plena omnium rationum viventium": ideo patet, quod in Filio recte reperitur ratio omnis pulcritudinis. — Eo igitur quo Filius per modum naturae emanat, habet rationem perfectae ex expressae similitudinis; eo quod habet rationem perfectae similitudinis, habet rationem cognitionis; et ratione utriusque habet rationem pulcritudinis. Quoniam igitur nomen speciei importat similitudinem et importat cognoscendi rationem importat etiam pulcritudinem — ut "species quidem Priami digna est imperio" (Porphyr., de Praedicab. c. de Specie) — ideo elegantissime appropriatur Filio. I S. 31, II, I, 3 (I 544).

[2] Pater enim ab aeterno genuit Filium similem sibi et dixit se et similitudinem suam similem sibi et cum hoc totum posse suum; dixit quae posset facere, et maxime quae voluit facere, et omnia in eo expressit, scilicet in Filio seu in isto medio tanquam in sua arte. *Coll. in Hexaem.* I, 13 (V 331).

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That medium, then, that Art, in which the Father expressed His likeness, is Truth. This same Truth, dwelling in the bosom of the Father, is also that which teaches interiorly; nor is it possible to know any truth whatsoever except through that truth which is the first Truth. The crucial point upon which pivots philosophy was completely obscured for the pagan philosophers because they did not know Revelation which teaches the eternal generation of the Son from the Father. By this generation, the expressed Similitude of the Father contains within Himself both the principle of being and the principle of knowing. In Him are united, not as in a composite, but in the singularity of Person, the *ratio essendi* and the *ratio cognoscendi*. For Him to be is to know. Moreover, since in His eternal generation, the Father has expressed all that is or could be, the Son in the singularity of His Person contains the expressed similitudes of all that was to be created or that possibly could be created. The power of the Father generates and creates; the generation results in a likeness, co-equal, co-eternal; in this expressed likeness, the Father sees the full length to which His power, wisdom, and goodness can extend, and by this seeing He knows all that possibly can be, as well as what actually will be according to what the Divine Will ordains to be created. It is, then, in the Verbum as in the Eternal Art, that are found the eternal ideas, or prototypes of all things possible or actual. In the Verbum is solved the difficult metaphysical problem of the one and the many, that problem the ancient Greeks first recognized as the fundamental one of metaphysics and which they strove in vain to solve, because they could not understand how in unity there could be multiplicity. The problem is solved on the level of intelligibility, for in the simplicity of the soul are contained the forms of many things. But the form or species of things in the mind are merely images, as a seal would impress upon wax, so that there is nothing of the model contained in the image except the impressed form; it is merely an *ens rationis*. Yet through this the mind is capable of becoming all things through an assimilation of likeness, because the rational soul has as its object all being. The soul, then, does not offer a solution but suggests the only solution possible. If there could be a spiritual substance, simple like the soul,

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yet containing likenesses of all possible things, and if this simple substance would be not only a principle of knowing, as in the intellect but also, at the same time, a principle of being, as in God, then there would be a rational answer to the problem. Faith supplies the only answer: He who is is also He who knows. He who is has eternally expressed Himself and this one Expression is equal in being to the One expressing. But the one expressed is an expressed Similitude, and a Principle whereby the One expressing knows all that He has expressed. Thus the expressed Similitude, since He is equal to the Father, is God, and is also the Word, the expression of all the wisdom and knowledge and truth of the Father. In the Verbum is contained the ideas of all things actual and possible in the unity of His Person. A recognition of this mystery of faith will help in some small degree in answering some of the baffling problems of metaphysics and will give to the ensuing philosophy the characteristic title of Christian.[1]

Thus the intellect of the uncreated Word is the gate to the understanding of how from one can come many things. Whoever does not recognize this gate, says Saint Bonaventure, cannot enter in to find the truth. Those ancient pagan philosophers who have held as false the things which are most highly true cannot reach the truth because the gate is shut to them. It is impossible for the highest spirit not to know itself, and since the intellect is adequated to the intelligible, it knows whatever is and whatever can be. Therefore the *ratio intelligendi* is adequated to the intellect, which is its similitude. This similitude is the Word. The Seraphic Doctor follows here the thought of Saint Augustine and Saint Anselm, who call that similitude which the mind makes when it turns upon itself, the word. If this similitude is equal to the original, it is God and, originating from God, it represents in an originating way whatever God can do. Therefore it represents many things. Since He represents the power

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[1] Unde illud medium veritas est; et constat secundum Augustinum et alios Sanctos, quod "Christus habens cathedram in caelo docet interius," nec aliquo modo aliqua veritas sciri potest nisi per illam veritatem. Nam idem est principium essendi et cognoscendi. Si enim scibile in quantum scibile secundum Philosophum aeternum est; necesse est, ut nihil sciatur nisi per veritatem immutabilem, inconcussam, incoangustatam. *Ibid.*

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of God, this can only be by representing a power that is most highly one. In respect to any power, the more highly it is unified, the more widely extended it is. Then that similitude which represents a power that is most highly one must represent it infinitely and in infinite ways. Hence it is necessary that from one there are many things. If indeed you know the Word, you will know all things knowable.[1]

A further understanding of Saint Bonaventure's doctrine of exemplarism is important for a complete grasp of his aesthetic. It might also be said to lead to an aesthetic epistemology. It is Divine Wisdom, the Art of the Father, that is, the Exemplar.

The Divine Wisdom knows most clearly all things, good and bad, past and present and future, actual and possible, although our understanding of this truth calls for a diversity of names.[2] And since the Divine Wisdom is not only capable of knowing, but is itself the very reason for knowing, the very principle upon which any knowing is based, it may be said that in so far as it is the reason for knowing all that can be known, it is called *light;* in so far, as it is the reason for knowing all that can be seen and recognized, it is called a *mirror;*

[1] Horum ostium est intellectus Verbi increati, qui est radix intelligentiae omnium; unde qui non habet hoc ostium, intrare non potest. Philosophi autem habent pro impossibili quae sunt summe vera, quia ostium est eis clausam.... Summum autem spiritum impossibile est se non intelligere; et cum intellectum aequetur intelligenti, intelligit quidquid est et quidquid potest: ergo et ratio intelligendi aequatur intellectui, quae similitudo eius est. Haec autem similitudo Verbum est, quia, secundum Augustinum et Anselmum (Lib. XIV de Trin.; Monolog. 32), similitudo mentis convertentis se super se, quae in acie mentis est, verbum est. Si ergo haec similitudo aequalis est, ergo Deus est, et a Deo orginata repraesentat originantem et quidquid Pater potest: ergo repraesentat multa. Item, cum virtutem Patris repraesentet, reprasentat virtutem unitissimam; sed "virtus, quanto magis unita, tanto magis infinita" (Liber de Causis Propos. 17): ergo illa similitudo infinita repraesentare habet; et ita necesse est, ut ab uno sint multa. Si igitur intelligis Verbum, intelligis omnia scibilia. *Coll. in Hexaem.* III, 4 (V, 343—344).

[2] De sapientia vero Dei haec tenenda sunt, scilicet quod ipsa divina sapientia limpidissime cognoscit omnia bona et mala, praeterita, praesentia et futura, actualia et possibilia, ac per hoc incomprehensibilia nobis et infinita; ita tamen, quod ipsa in se nullo modo diversificatur, licet diversa nomina sortiatur. *Brevil.* I, 8, 1; min. ed., p. 52.

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in so far as it is the reason for knowing all things as previously known and arranged, it is called *exemplar;* finally, in so far as it is the reason for knowing things predestined and the reprobate, it is called the *book of life.*[1] Thus the *book of life* considers things as returning to their source; the *exemplar*, as emanating from their source; and *mirror*, a reflection of things as they are *in statu viae.* Wisdom considered as *light* embraces all these aspects.[2] Those things which are signified by the words *idea*, *verbum*, *ars*, and *ratio* have reference to Divine Wisdom as Exemplar; *idea*, according to the act of seeing something beforehand; *verbum*, according to the act of proposing something; *ars*, according to the act of accomplishing; *ratio*, according to the act of completing, because there is found here also the intention of an end. Since these are truly one in God, one is frequently used for the other.[3]

Although what the Divine Wisdom knows is signified for us by the use of many names, yet in God as the intrinsic principle of the knowledge of all things, it is not diversified. The Divine Wisdom knows contingent things infallibly, mutable things immutably, future things as present, temporal things eternally, dependent things independently, created things uncreatedly, all things other than Himself in and through Himself.[4]

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[1] Et quia ipsa non tantum est cognoscitiva; sed est etiam ratio cognoscendi; ideo, in quantum est ratio cognoscendi omnia cognita, dicitur lux; in quantum est ratio cognoscendi visa et approbata, dicitur speculum; in quantum est ratio cognoscendi praedestinata et reprobata dicitur liber vitae. *Ibid.* I, 8, 2; min. ed., pp. 52—53.

[2] Est igitur liber vitae respectu rerum, ut redeuntium; exemplar, ut exeuntium; speculum, ut euntium; lux vero respectu omnium. *Ibid.* See also IV S. 43, 2, 1—3.

[3] Ad exemplar autem spectat idea, verbum, ars et ratio: idea, secundum actum praevidendi; verbum secundum actum proponendi; ars, secundum actum prosequendi; ratio, secundum actum perficiendi, quia superaddit intentionem finis. Quia vero haec omnia unum sunt in Deo, ideo unum frequenter accipitur pro alio. *Ibid.*

[4] Et licet divina sapientia ratione diversitatis scitorum et connotatorum diversa sortiatur vocabula, non tamen diversificatur secundum rationem intrinsecam. Cognoscit enim contingentia infallibiliter, mutabilia immutabiliter, futura praesentialiter, temporalia aeternaliter, dependentia inde-

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The reason for this is as follows. The First Principle, by the very fact that it is first and highest, has most simple and most perfect knowledge. Since it is most perfect it knows all things most distinctly under all the conditions that things have or could have. To say that it knows things future as future, and present as present, as the good to be approved, and the evil to be rejected, is only a manner of speaking, as has been said above.[1] There follows from the fact of the simplicity and perfection of the Divine Wisdom the compatibility of its certitude with the contingency of the things known, and of its unity with the multiplicity of the conceptions and ideas that arise from the multiplicity of things. The divine knowledge, as most perfect, knows all things collectively and individually, and represents them most distinctly and perfectly. Hence it is said that the Divine Wisdom has the *ratio* and *idea* of every individual thing, and therefore there are found in Him the most perfectly expressed similitudes of all things. But since He is most simple, all similitudes are one in Him. As God through His single power produced all things in time, so likewise in one truth He expresses all things eternally. Just as the all-powerfully active operation according to the thing is one in God, yet by reason of the plurality of products, it seems to be and consequently is inaccurately called many operations, so also is the case of knowledge. For in the single intellectual act of God, truth is one, although by reason of the plurality of similitudes, ideas, and notion, they are called many because of the many things represented of things existing at present, or in the future, or as only possible. Although these notions and ideas constitute truly one truth, light, and essence, yet they are not said to be one notion or idea. *Ratio*

pendenter, creata increate, alia a se in se et per se. *Ibid.*, I, 8, 3; min. ed., p. 53.

[1] Intelligentia autem et ratio praedictorum haec est: quoniam primum principium hoc ipso quod primum et summum, cognitionem habet simul simplicissimam et perfectissimam: quia perfectissimam, ideo cognoscit omnia distinctissime sub omnibus conditionibus, quas res habent vel habere possunt; et propterea futura scit esse futura, et praesentia praesentia; et bona scit approbanda, et mala reprobanda: hinc est, quod diversa sortitur vocabula, secundum quod dictum est supra. *Ibid.*, I, 8, 4; min. ed., p. 54.

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and *idea* are said to refer to another, according to the *rationem intelligendi*. It names the similitude of something known which really holds existence from God (its intelligibility), although according to the *rationem intelligendi* it seems to have a foundation in the thing known.[1] The Exemplar will not be found among creatures, but only in Him who is by His nature simple, infinite, and most perfect. Once this is understood, the knowledge of other things will follow. Since that Exemplar is most simple and most perfect, He is Pure Act, and because infinite and immense, He is beyond all genus. Existing as one, He can also be the expressed similitude of many.[2]

Thus, from eternity all temporal things are — *Ab aeterno sunt omnia temporalia*. For those things which proceed from the Father, proceed according to order, and one is the cause of the other, by the

[1] Sicut autem divinae cognitionis certitudo simul stat cum contingentia rerum cognitarum, quia simul est simplicissima et perfectissima divina sapientia; sic unitas simul stat cum multiformitate rationum et idearum ex eadem causa. Quia enim perfectissima est, ideo distinctissime cognoscit universa et singula et illa omnia distinctissime et perfectissime repraesentat; et ideo singulorum dicitur habere rationes et ideas tanquam rerum similitudines perfectissime expressivas. Quia vero simplicissima est, ideo omnes similitudines illae sunt unum in ipsa. Unde sicut Deus una virtute omnia producit ex tempore secundum omnimodam rerum integritatem, sic una veritate omnia exprimit sempiternaliter. Et sicut una est in Deo altissimo, omnipotente operatio activa secundum rem, dicuntur tamen plures rerum productiones ratione pluralitatis productorum; sic una est veritas unius actus intelligentiae in Deo, dicuntur tamen plures similitudines, ideae et rationes ratione pluralitatis ideatorum vel existentium, vel futurorum, vel possibilium. Hae autem rationes vel ideae, licet sint una veritas et lux et essentia, non tamen dicuntur esse una ratio vel idea. Ratio enim vel idea dicitur ut ad alterum secundum rationem intelligendi. Nominat enim similitudinem cogniti quae realiter tenet se ex parte Dei, licet secundum rationem intelligendi dicere videatur aliquid ex parte ideati. *Ibid.*, I, 8, 7; min. ed., p. 55.

[2] Si autem huius simile in creatura requiratur, dicendum, quod hoc est illius exemplaris proprium; quia, sicut dictum est, simul est simplex et infinitum et perfectissimum, quo praeintellecto, cetera consequenter innotescunt. Quia enim exemplar illud est simplicissimum et perfectissimum, ideo actus purus; quia vero in finitum et immensum, ideo extra omne genus. Et hinc est, quod existens unum, potest esse similitudo expressiva multorum. *Ibid.*, I, 8, 8; min. ed., pp. 55—56.

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order of nature and by the order of time. Therefore the Word represents things as they are produced in being. In the same way in my foresight or memory can be many future things, and one future more distant than another; nor on account of this does it follow that when they happen, there will be a change in my memory. Nor in the Word is there any change. For when He creates the soul, He is not changed, because from eternity He spoke; now He creates. It is as if my willing could consist in my being also able to accomplish my desire. If I were to wish that a thing should be done tomorrow, there would be no change in me if the thing were done; but there would be a change if, from the state of not willing, I were to become willing.[1]

In the *Triplici Via* there is another mention of the appropriations attributed respectively to the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, where beauty is specifically appropriated to the Second Person, and for an interesting reason. The first set of appropriations, as has been said before, is unity, truth, and goodness; unity to the Father, as Origin; truth to the Son, as Image; goodness to the Holy Ghost, as the one who unites, the *Connexio*. The second set of appropriations are power, wisdom, and will; power to the Father because He is the Source; wisdom to the Son because He is the Word; and will to the Holy Ghost because He is the Gift. There is a third set of appropriations arising from a combination of the first two: loftiness, beauty, and sweetness. Loftiness, combining both unity and power, is appropriated to the Father. Beauty is attributed to the Son

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[1] Item, ab aeterno sunt omnia temporalia. Quae enim a Patre procedunt ordinate procedunt, et unum est causa alterius, ordine naturae et ordine temporis: ergo Verbum sic repraesentat res, ut in esse producuntur. Sicut enim in providentia mea vel memoria possunt esse multa futura, et unum futurum magis distans quam aliud; nec propter hoc sequitur, quod cum eveniunt, sit mutatio in memoria mea; sic in Verbo non est mutatio. Cum enim creat animam hanc, non mutatur, quia ab aeterno dixit, animam hanc nunc creandam. Unde eodem dicto, quo ab aeterno dixit, nunc creat; sicut si velle meum esset posse meum; si vellem modo, cras fieri rem, non esset mutatio in me si fieret; sed esset, si de non volente fierem volens. *Coll. in Hexaem.* III, 6 (V 344). See also I S. 8, I, 2, 1 and II S. 1, I, 1, 2, 5 and 6.

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because of truth and wisdom, since wisdom includes a multitude of ideas, and truth implies an adequation between the knower and what is known. For the combination of the idea of multitude, in wisdom, with the idea of adequation, in truth, results in an *aequalitas numerosa*, which is nothing less than beauty.[1]

The preceding can be briefly summed up as follows. The second Person of the Blessed Trinity can be considered as Image, Word, and Son. Image denotes that Person as the expressed similitude; Word, as the expressing similitude; Son, as the hypostatic similitude. Or again, Image signifies conformed similitude; Word, intellectual similitude; Son, similitude of the same nature.[2] The Verbum expresses both the Father and the things which are made through Him, and is the chief means of leading us to the Father. To seek knowledge of things through experience, investigating more than it is fitting, will result in a falling away from true contemplation, and, as it were, a tasting of the forbidden tree of the knowledge

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[1] Deinde in divinis sunt appropriata secundum triplicem differentiam. Prima, appropriata sunt unitas, veritas, bonitas. Attribuitur unitas Patri, quia origo; veritas Filio, quia imago; bonitas Spiritui sancto, quia connexio. Secunda appropriata sunt potestas, sapientia, et voluntas: potestas Patri, quia Principium; sapientia Filio, quia Verbum; voluntas Spiritui sancto, quia Donum. Tertia appropriata sunt altitudo, pulcritudo et dulcedo: altitudo Patri, propter unitatem et potestatem. Nihil enim aliud est altitudo quam singularis et unica potestas. Pulcritudo Filio, propter veritatem et sapientiam. Nam sapientia multitudinem idearum, veritas autem aequalitatem includit; "pulcritudo autem nihil aliud est quam aequalitas numerosa" (secundum August. VI de Musica, c. 13, n. 38. Cfr. tom. V, p. 301 nota 1. — De veritate, quatenus aequalitatem sive adaequationem rei et intellectus includit, cfr. August., *de Vera Relig.*, c. 36, n. 66 et S. Bonav. tom. I, p. 707, nota 5). Dulcedo, Spiritui sancto, propter voluntatem et bonitatem. Ubi est summa bonitas iuncta cum voluntate, dulcedo. — Est igitur in Deo altitudo terribilis, pulcritudo mirabilis, dulcedo desiderabilis, et hic est status. (Cfr. in Hexaem. Collact. 21, n. 4 seqq.). *De Triplici Via* III, 7 (VIII 17).

[2] Similiter, cum Filius sit imago, verbum et filius; imago nominat illam personam ut similitudienm expressivam; verbum, ut similitudinem expressivam; filius, ut similitudinem hypostaticam; rursus imago, ut similitudinem conformem; verbum, ut similitudinem intellectualem; filius, ut similitudinem connaturalem. *Breviloq.* I, 3, 8; min. ed., p. 39.

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of good and evil. This is because the spirit of presumption and curiosity is inharmonious with the divine praise, for the presumptuous person does not praise God, but himself instead. Neither does the curious person have devotion, although he may very well have the splendors of knowledge.[1] Saint Bonaventure goes on to show first Lucifer fell, and then Adam because of the pleasure they sought in knowledge for its own sake, and because of the desire to excel. If they had contemplated the First Truth, then the knowledge that they would have had as a creature would have led them back to the unity of the Father. It is the Verbum, then, that is the medium, making one to know truth that is the Tree of Life. Any other truth is an occasion of death, since the love of the beauty of creatures in themselves brings destruction. All ought to repeat that first truth, and say with the Son of God: *Exivi a Patre et veni in mundum; iterum relinquo mundum et vado ad Patrem;*[2] and elsewhere, *Father, I come from You who are the highest, I come to You who are the highest, through You who are the highest.* This, then, Saint Bonaventure says, is the metaphysical means leading us back, and this is the sum total of our metaphysics: emanation, exemplarism, and the ultimate consummation or union, through the illumination of the spiritual rays of truth leading us up to God. Whoever thinks in this way will be a true metaphysician.[3]

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[1] Item, contra consonantiam divinae laudis spiritus praesumtionis et curiositatis, ita quod praesumtuosus Deum non magnificat, sed sese laudat; curiosus autem devotionem non habet. Unde multi sunt tales, qui vacui sunt laude et devotione, etsi habeant splendores scientiarum. *Coll. in Hexaem.* I, 8 (V 330).

[2] John, XVI, 28.

[3] Verbum ergo exprimit Patrem et res, quae per ipsum factae sunt, et principaliter ducit nos ad Patris congregantis unitatem; et secundum hoc est lignum vitae, quia per hoc medium redimus et vivificamur in ipso fonte vitae. Si vero declinamus ad notitiam rerum in experientia, investigantes amplius, quam nobis conceditur; cadimus a vera contemplatione et gustamus de ligno vetito scientiae boni et mali, sicut fecit lucifer. Si enim lucifer, contemplando illam veritatem, de notitia creaturae reductus fuisset ad Patris unitatem; fecisset de vespere mane diemque habuisset; sed quia cecidit in delectationem et appetitum excellentiae, diem amisit. Sic Adam similiter. Istud est medium faciens scire, scilicet veritas, et haec

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CHAPTER V

ART IN SAINT BONAVENTURE

Following Aristotle, Saint Bonaventure places art among the five intellectual virtues needed for the understanding of man's activities: science, art, prudence, wisdom, and intelligence. Speculation can be considered either in itself, or as it produces an affective or effective result. In the first instance, it is chiefly logic; in the second, since the speculative order easily passes into the practical, the realm of the moral order is approached when knowledge passes into an extrinsic effect.

In the consideration of the five virtues, wisdom holds the highest place, and art, the lowest. When knowledge affects the knower himself, it passes into wisdom, which is considered as a knowledge of the highest causes and by means of the highest causes. But when knowledge passes into an extrinsic effect, it is called art, defined, according to Aristotle, *habitus cum ratione factivus*. In the former, knowledge is affective; in the latter, effective, resulting in something made. Between these two is *electio*, or choice, which is joined to affection and ordered to a work. Whatever one chooses he must love, and he chooses with the work to be done as an end. This is the virtue of prudence situated between art and wisdom. Intelligence, a virtue

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est lignum vitae; alia veritas est occasio mortis, cum quis ceciderit in amorem pulcritudinis creaturae. Per primarium veritatem omnes redire debent, ut, sicut Filius dixit: Exivi a Patre et veni in mundum; iterum relinquo mundum et vado ad Patrem; sic dicat quilibet: Domine, exivi a te summo, venio ad te summum et per te summum. Hoc est medium metaphysicum reducens, et haec est tota nostra metaphysica: de emanatione, de exemplaritate, de consummatione, scilicet illumnari per radios spirituales et reduci ad summum. Et sic eris verus metaphysicus. *Coll. in Hexaem.* Coll. I, 17 (V 332).

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consisting in the knowledge of principles and of most certain rules, ascends from prudence to wisdom, and descends through science to art. A surgeon, unless governed by the law of medicine, could kill a patient if he operated upon him under unfavorable conditions, such as when a patient was suffering from fever. Or it might be proposed that a certain mathematician who made wonderful bells made them according to musical proportions. This knowledge of musical proportions, however, he had received from someone who was a musician, who had taught him the form of the bell, including the length and density, as well as the hammer proportioned to striking. Yet it should not be understood from the foregoing that some virtues are intellectual and others practical, or that on this account virtues are in any other power than in the rational, because the essence of all virtue is in its rationality. But there are certain virtues which are in the rational power *secundum se*, and as such, the power is considered as speculative; others, however, are in the rational power *secundum quod est exterioris hominis*, according to that which relates to man in his exterior activities — and in this case the rational power is considered as governing.[1]

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[1] Secundus radius veritatis illustrat ad comprehensionem industriarum secundum speculationes intellectuales. Hae sunt quinque: scientia, ars, prudentia, sapientia, intelligentia (Aristot. VI Ethic.). Speculatio autem aut est consistens in se, aut transit in affectum et effectum. Primus modus non pertinet ad moralem, sed magis logici est; secundum autem spectat, quia virtuosus; et ideo, quia faciliter speculativus fit practicus, facile ex speculativo fit virtuosus. Notitia igitur transiens in affectum est sapientia, quae est "cognitio causarum altissimarum et per causas altissimas." Notitia autem transiens in effectum extrinsecum est ars, quae est "habitus cum ratione factivus." et hic iungitur notitia cum faciente, praevia tamen affectione. Medium inter haec est electio, quae iungitur affectui et ordinatur ad opus. Quod enim quia eligit amat et eligit ad opus; et haec est prudentia, quae est media inter sapientiam et artem. Intelligentia autem est in ascendendo a prudentia ad sapientiam, quae est cognitio principiorum et regularum certarum. Necesse est similiter descendere ad artem per scientiam. Chirurgus nisi habeat regulam medici, interficit hominem, ut si indicat eum qui est dispositus ad februm. Dicebat etiam de quodam mathematico, qui faciebat campanas optimas, et illas faciebat secundum proportiones musicales; tamen istas habuerat a quodam musico, qui dederat sibi formam et longi-

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A further understanding of the meaning of art as an intellectual virtue directed toward operation will derive from a consideration of the three possible agents: God, nature, and intelligence. These are ordered in such a way that the first is presupposed by the second, and the second, by the third. God operates *ex nihilo;* nature, on the other hand, cannot operate *ex nihilo* but only from *ens in potentia;* art presupposes the operation of nature, and operates, in turn, upon *ens completum.* Art does not make stone, but a house of stone. Nature cannot anticipate the work of God, nor can art, the work of nature.

Further, it may be added that nature cannot produce an artificial form, nor can art, a natural form, the reason being that there is a limit to the power of the agent to specific effects, according to the disposition of God and the order of primary causes. Saint Bonaventure adds that God has so disposed because the order of wisdom requires it.[1]

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tudinis et spissitudinis et martellum proportionatum ad pulsandum. Nec est intelligendum, propter hoc quod dicitur (Aristot. I Ethic. c. 13; II c. 1 et VI c. 1), quod virtutes quaedam sunt intellectuales, quaedam consuetudinariae, quod propter hoc virtutes sint in parte aliquae alia nisi in rationali, quia essentia omnis virtutis est in rationali; sed quaedam sunt in rationali secundum se et secundum quod est speculatrix; quaedam autem, secundum quod est exterioris hominis gubernatrix. *Collat. in Hexaem.* V, 12, 13 (V 356).

Ad illud quod obiicitur de arte, dicendum, quod ars dicit quod est operationis, non habet uti, et sic est rationis; secundum vero quod dicit quod est operationis, sic extenditur ad voluntatem et eam regulat in utendo. I S. 1, 1, 1 (I 31).

Ars est in potentia rationali sive cognitive, cum sit scientia . . . *Ibid.* Scientia autem et ars sunt eiusdem generis. III S. 23, 1, 4 (III 480).

[1] Cum enim sit triplex agens, scilicet Deus, natura et intelligentia, ista sunt agentia ordinata, ita quod primum praesupponitur a secundo, secundum praesupponitur a tertio. Deus enim operatur ex nihilo, natura vero non facit ex nihilo, sed ex ente in potentia; ars supponit operationem naturae et operatur super ens completum; non enim facit lapides, sed domum, de lapidibus. Unde sicut natura non potest anticipare operationem Dei, quae est de nihilo producere; sic nec ars operationem naturae. II S. 7, 2, 2, 2 (II 202).

Unde sicut natura non producit formam artificialem, sic nec ars formam naturalem. Si quaeratur ratio huius, dico, quod est limitatio potentiae agentis ad talem et talem effectum secundum dispositionem Dei et prima-

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In the case of the intelligence as the agent in operation, Saint Bonaventure becomes even more explicit. To those who object that there is nothing in the mind which was not first received by the senses, he declares that the statement should be understood as saying that the soul does not have any similitude which it had not received from the exterior, either as a whole, or as a part.[1] It is true that there are idols, for example, which have no likeness in the external world, but these idols are composed of different aspects of the external world. The soul is able to make new compositions of what it receives from the external world, but it does not make new things. What it paints or sculptures exteriorly follows what has been fashioned beforehand in the mind.[2]

That the work of nature precedes the work of art is revealed by an examination of any work of art, where natural operation has preceded the operation of art. Moreover, the agent produces according to nature a likeness to itself according to truth, but the agent produces according to art a likeness only according to a species or idea or exemplar. The agent in the production of a natural thing or a natural form does so by imparting something by extension (passo), and it can impart only that in respect to which it is itself in act according to truth. An agent cannot draw out a natural form from potency to act unless it act according to the mode of nature. In artificial things, on the other hand, the agent imparts nothing by extension (passo), although it may cause an increase in size or a change in place, as can be seen in a composed form or a carved figure. Thus by virtue

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riam ordinationem causarum. Rursus, si quaeras rationem quare Deus sic disposuit; dico, quod ordo sapientiae hoc requirit. *Ibid.*

[1] II S. 39, 1, 2; min. ed. p. 937.

[2] Ad illud vero quod obiicitur, quod nihil est in anima, quod prius non fuerit susceptum a sensu: dicendum, quod illud verbum intelligendum est, quod anima non habet aliquam similitudinem, quam non susceperit ab extra vel secundum totum, vel secundum partem (II S. 39, 1, 2). Cum ergo dicitur, quod forma idoli non habet similitudinem extra; hoc intelligitur secundum totum, habet tamen secundum partem, sicut patet de chimaera et hircocerbo et monte aureo. Anima enim facit novas compositiones, licet non faciat novas res; et secundum quod fingit interius, sic etiam depingit et sculpit exterius. III S. 37 Dub. 1 (III 830).

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of his own proper power an agent cannot produce new forms, except in the case of Him who is *Actus plenus* and perfect in every respect, in knowledge as well as operation, that is, God alone.[1]

There is a point of similarity in the respective productions of art and nature in this, that both produce something that is like the producer. In the production of a natural thing, however, there is similarity in both substance and nature, although difference in person. In the production of art the similarity is according to the *rationem formae exemplaris*, dissimilar both in substance and nature.[2]

In the Most Blessed Trinity is found production according to the natural mode, in respect to the Three Persons. According to Aristotle, nature is a productive power, by which a thing is capable of producing something similar to itself. The production according to the mode of art would be incompatible with the Divine Essence which is completely foreign to a diversity of essence as contrary to its complete simplicity.[3]

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[1] Sed tunc quaeres, quare non est e converso, ut ars praecedat naturam? Et dicendum, quod operatio naturalis per naturam prius est in eodem quam operatio artis. Et praeterea, alia ratio est, quia agens per naturam producit sibi similem secundum veritatem, sed agens secundum artem similem solum secundum speciem vel ideam vel exemplar. Quia ergo in productione rei naturalis sive formae naturalis agens aliquid impartitur passo, et nihil impartitur aliquid nisi illud, respectu cuius est in actu secundum veritatem; ideo formas illas de potentia in actum educere non potest nisi quod agit per modum naturae. In artificialibus autem nihil impartitur agens passo, sed aufert vel mutat secundum locum, sicut patet in forma compositionis et figura incisionis. Et hinc est, quod agens per artem non potest virtute propria formas naturales producere, nisi ille solus, qui est actus plenus, et perfectus respectu omnium, tam in cognoscendo quam in operando, scilicet solus Deus. II S. 7, 2, 2, 2 (II 202).

[2] Modus producendi per artem convent cum modo producendi per naturam in hoc, quod utrobique producitur simile. Differt autem, quia in productione naturali producitur similis in substantia et natura, alius in persona; in productione autem artis producitur simile secundum rationem formae exemplaris, dissimile vero in substantia et natura. I S. 2, 1, 4 ad 4 (I 58).

[3] Natura enim dicit vim productivam, secundum quod dicit Philosophus, quod "est vis insita rebus ex similibus similia procreans." In divinis autem est ordo secundum productionem, ideo dicitur ibi ordo naturae, id est

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There is more to be said concerning production, for although it is true that all that is produced, is produced through a similarity in form, and known in the same way, there should be a distinction made between an agent according to nature and one according to intellect. The agent according to nature produces through forms which are true natures; as for example, a man produces a man. But an agent according to intellect produces forms that are not other things, but ideas in the mind; for example, a box that an artist produces in his mind. According to this second method, all things are produced and their forms are the eternal forms of things which are in God. Saint Bonaventure adds that if this is what Plato meant by the Ideas, as Saint Augustine implied that he did, then he is to be commended.[1]

Since art's fecundity in production rests in the will of the artist, its mode of production should not be distinguished from the mode of production of freedom or of will. Yet both the mode of *egressus* of freedom and of art can each respectively be considered in two ways. In the case of the mode of freedom there is on the one hand the *ratio liberalitatis*, or liberty considered in itself, and on the other, that which is freely made. Likewise, in the mode of art, there is the *ratio artificiandi* or art considered in itself, or that which is made by the artist, an *artificiatum*. In the Blessed Trinity, the Second Person whom Saint Augustine calls *Verbum et Ars plena omnium viventium*, emanates according to the first mode, that of *liberalitatis*.

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naturalis originis. I S. 20, 2, 2, (I 374). Talis autem modus producendi (i. e., artis) est incompossibilis divinae essentiae, quae non compatitur diversitatem essentiarum. I S. 2, 1, 4 ad 4 (I 58).

[1] Quod obiicitur, quod omne quod producitur, producitur per simile in forma, et cognoscitur similiter; dicendum, quod est agens secundum naturam, et secundum intellectum. (Arist. VII Metaph. 22, VI, 7). Agens secundum naturam producit per formas, quae sunt vere naturae, sicut homo hominem, et asinus asinum; agens per intellectum producit per formas, quae non sunt aliquid rei, sed ideae in mente, sicut artifex producit arcam; et sic productae sunt res, et hoc modo sunt formae rerum aeternae, quia sunt Deus. Et si sic posuit Plato, commendandus est, et sic imponit ei Augustinus (Libr. 83 Qq. 46, 2 et VII de Civ. Dei, c. 28, cfr. I S. d. 35). II S. 1, I, 1, 1, ad 3—4; min. ed., p. 11.

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This mode is not distinguished from the mode of emanating by nature, because the Second Person emanates as a likeness in every respect and through the mode of perfect similitude. Hence it is not possible that there should be the mode of emanating through art in the Blessed Trinity itself since the Persons of necessity communicate in the same nature and this is through the mode of nature principally, and that of *liberalitatis* concomitantly. The emanation or *processus* through the mode of *liberalitatis* is an intrinsic one, as love proceeds from a lover; but the emanation through the mode of art is always extrinsic, as such. Hence an emanation through the mode of art is impossible for God in respect to the Persons of the Holy Trinity, and thus this mode applies only to creatures.[1]

When the Second Person of the Trinity is called *Verbum et ars plena omnium rationum viventium*, art is to be understood, not as *ars simpliciter*, but as *ars quaedam*. He is not the art by which the Father knows, but where He knows, not the art of the Father by which the Father is wise, but that which is from a wise Father, through whom the Father operates all things. For all the Father produces, He produces through the Son. Although both *ars* and *verbum* include the intention of strength and wisdom, still it can be

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[1] . . . nos distinguimus in his creaturis egressum per modum liberalitatis ab egressu per modum artis. Et propterea dicendum, quod processus per modum liberalitatis est dupliciter, aut sicut ratio liberalitatis sive ipsa liberalitas, aut sicut liberaliter factum; similiter et in arte, aut sicut ipsa ars sive ratio artificandi, aut sicut artificiatum; et primo modo potest cadere in divina persona, secundo modo non. Et primo modo procedit Filius, qui est "Verbum et ars plena omnium rationum viventium." (August. VI de Trin. c. 10, n. 11.) Sed iste modus emanandi non distinguitur a modo emanandi per modum naturae, quia emanat ut omnino similis et per modum similitudinis perfectae. Alius autem modus non potest esse, quia duas personas necesse est communicare in eadem natura, et quia necesse est, quod omnis modus emanandi, qui est in divinis, sit per modum naturae principaliter, vel illa concomitante. Unde cum processus per modum voluntatis possit esse intrinsecus, sicut procedit amor ab amante; per modum vero artis semper est extrinsecus, inquantum huiusmodi: ideo impossibile est, quod cadat in Deo respectu personae, sed cadit solum respectu creaturae. I S. 10, 1, 1 (I 196).

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said that *verbum* does so properly as indicating an emanation and a source (respectum), but *ars* is used only by appropriation.[1]

Concerning the use of the words *ars* and *verbum*, Saint Bonaventure makes careful distinctions. Both these words imply a source. Yet they do so in another way than *idea* or *ratio*. The term *idea or ratio cognoscendi* contains the signification of that which is known more than the consideration of the rôle played by the knower. *Verbum*, on the other hand, is to be considered more from the part of the speaker, as *ars* and *exemplar*, from the part of the producer. And as many things are known, and there is one knower, so also there may be many ideas, but art remains one. *Ratio* and *idea* are used in respect to things in so far as they are distinct, but not *ars* and *exemplar*.[2]

In still another place Saint Bonaventure agrees with Aristotle that both art and virtue are needed by the rational mind concerning the difficult and arduous.[3]

Actually there are two ways of considering art: the one, whose operation follows nature, and the other, whose operation is the foundation of nature. The art whose operation follows nature is considered

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[1] Respondeo: dicendum, quod faciendo est vis in verbo, quia non dicit, quod sit ars simpliciter, sed quod sit ars quaedam, quia non est ars, qua Pater novit, sed ubi novit; non est ars Patris, qua Pater sit sapiens, sed quae est a Patre sapiente, per quam Pater omnia operatur, quia omnia produxit per Filium. Et notandum, quod cum ars includat et intentionem virtutis et sapientiae, et similiter verbum; tamen differenter, quia verbum dicit emanationem et respectum, ideo est proprium, ars autem appropriatum (See Brevil. I, 3). I S. 31, 2, dub. 2 (I 550).

[2] Ad illud quod obiicitur, quod verbum et ars dicunt respectum; dicendum est, quod dicunt, sed aliter quam idea vel ratio. Nam idea sive ratio cognoscendi plus se tenet secundum rationem intelligendi ex parte cogniti. Similitudo enim, secundum quod huiusmodi, non dicit respectum ad id in quo est, sed cuius est; sed verbum plus se tenet a parte dicentis, similiter et ars et exemplar ex parte producentis: et quia multa sunt cognita, et unum cognoscens, ideo ideae sunt plures, et ars tantum una. Vel aliter, ratio et idea dicunt respectum ad res in quantum distinctae sunt, non sic alia vocabula. I S. 35, 1, 3 ad 2 (I 608).

[3] Secundum vult Philosophus (libr. II. Ethic. c. 3), circa difficilia et ardua necessaria est ipsi menti rationali ars et virtus. III S. 23, 2, 1 (III 488).

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artificial, for the very reason that it is not natural. For example, there is the picture of a man and the man himself. One is a production of art, the other of nature. The use of the word man is here equivocal because the word man first and primarily belongs to a true man, and when a portrait of a man is signified, it is understood as meaning something other than the man. In the second case, where the operation is the foundation of nature, the work of art is truly natural because it fabricates nature itself. This is the kind of art whose work is to create, the work of the Art of the Father, the Second Person of the Trinity. In this case the word image is used, not equivocally, but analogically, for image means that which expressly represents another. In this, first and principally, the word image is applied to the Son of God, and secondarily to man.[1]

With regard to the relation between the artist and the work of art there is more to be gleaned for the understanding of the aesthetic of Saint Bonaventure from a consideration of the two modes in which God is present in created things. By the first mode is understood a uniform presence in all things, since God is intimately in all things and most completely present and entire in anything whatsoever. The second mode is according to effect, as an artist is said to be in the work of his art, through the connotation of effect, and through the impression of his likeness. And since God gives more to one creature than to another, He is more in one than in another.

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[1] Dicendum est, quod imago de Filio Dei et homine nec dicitur aequivoce, nec dicitur univoce, sed analogice secundum prius et posterius. Quod ergo obiicitur, quod illud, quod creatur, est ab arte; dicendum quod quaedam est ars, cuius operatio consequitur naturam; et opus istius artis sic est artificiale, quod non est naturale; et ideo opus istius artis cum opere naturae in eodem nomine faciunt aequivocationem, sicut homo pictus et homo verus. Quaedam est ars, quae est fundamentum naturae, et opus istius artis bene est naturale, quia fabricat ipsam naturam, et talis est ars, cuius opus est creare; et ideo non oportebit esse aequivocationem. Vel dicendum, quod ideo est aequivocatio, quando dicitur homo pictus et homo verus, quia hoc nomen homo primo et principaliter imponitur homini vero; et ideo, cum dicitur de homine picto, alia est acceptio et alia significatio. Non sic imago primo et principaliter imponitur Dei Filio, sed omni ei, quod expresse repraesentat alterum. II S. 16, dub. 4 (II 407—408).

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This is in three ways: either extensively, as regards those things which last a long time, so that God as an Artist exists more extensively in incorruptible bodies than in sensible souls; or intensively, as regards those things which are more noble, as in a sensible soul more than in an incorruptible body; or both extensively and intensively, that is, by duration and nobility, as more in a rational soul than in a corruptible body.[1]

The work of the Supreme Artist is more excellent than any human art could ever be. No matter how much willingness, or industry, or skill for fabricating beautiful and ornate garments for ornamenting himself man exhibits, he cannot equal in beauty the works and industry of nature, since nature is the work of God.[2]

An artist loves what he has made, says Saint Bonaventure. If he is a sculptor, he will love the statue he has carved. Yet a defect in the material that causes a blemish in his work he will hate, but not the work itself. So it is with God the Artist, who has made us. He loves us, but not our defects.[3]

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[1] Respondeo: ad praedictorum intelligentiam est notandum, quod Deum esse in rebus dupliciter potest intelligi: uno modo, ut idem sit quod esse praesentem cuilibet rei, non connotando effectum; et sic uniformiter est in omnibus rebus, eo quod intimus est cuilibet rei et summe praesens et totus in qualibet re. Alio modo potest connotare effectum, sicut artifex dicitur in artificio esse per connotationem effectus et per impressionem suae similitudinis; et sic, cum uni creaturae plus det quam alii, magis est in una quam in alia. Et hoc potest esse tripliciter: vel extensive, quantum ad ea quae habent esse diuturnius, ut in corpore incorruptibili plus quam in anima sensibili; vel intensive, quantum ad ea quae habent esse nobilius, ut in anima sensibili quam in corpore incorruptibili; vel utroque modo, ut in anima rationali quam in corpore corruptibili. I S. 37, 1, 3, 1 (I 646—647).

[2] Et quia opus summi Artificis est excellentius omni opere humanae artis, ideo addit: . . . et tamen Solomon circa ornatum vestium fuit curiosissimus, simul habens voluntatem, industriam et facultatem ad ornandum se . . . sed tamen operibus et industriae naturae, quae est opus Dei, aequari non poterat. *Comment. in Evangelium Lucae* XII 39 (VII 321).

[3] Sed dicendum, quod non odit facturam suam, sed facturae vitium, sicut artifex statuam, quam fecit, diligit, et tamen aliquem nodum ex parte materiae in ea existentem odit. Nec enim odiens, id est invitus, aliquid constituisti, scilicet de nihilo ipsum creando, aut fecisti, de materia praeia-

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Although the praise of a work redounds to the maker, and its contempt likewise, Saint Bonaventure has some interesting distinctions to make concerning man's attitude towards natural beauty. This concerns the esteem and value that man sets upon the things of the world, which he compares to a ring that a lover gives to his bride. If she truly loves him, she will also love the ring in memory of her lover and because of his love. But she who would love the ring for itself and more than him who gave it to her would love with a false love. As there are two kinds of love whereby the ring may be loved, one good and the other bad, so there are likewise two kinds of hatred or contempt. If the bride hated the ring because it was small and a poor gift, it would redound to the shame of the lover. But if the contempt of the ring was because she considered nothing of value compared with the preciousness of the love of her lover, then this kind of contempt would redound to his glory. This example very well illustrates Saint Bonaventure's attitude toward the natural beauty of the world, which he recognizes as a gift of God.[1]

An understanding of the mystic tendency of Saint Bonaventure's thought, and his refusal to consider any knowledge apart from a divine orientation is equally as imperative for the understanding

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centi formando; unde Boethius (Libr. II de consol. metr. 9). Unde Proverbiorum decimo sexto (Vers. 4): "Universa propter semetipsum operatus est Dominus." *Comment. in Sapientiam* c. XI v. 25 (VI 183).

[1] Laus operis redundat in artificem, ergo et contemptus operis redundat in eundem, ergo qui contemnit mundum contemnit Deum . . . Respondeo: dicendum, quod, sicut vult Augustinus et Hugo, mundus iste est quasi quidam anulus datus a sponso ipsi animae; sponsa autem dupliciter potest diligere anulum a sponso sibi collatum, amore scilicet casto et adulterino. Amor castus est, quo diligit anulum in memoriam sponsi et propter amorem sponsi; adulterinus, quod diligit anulum plus quam sponsum; et hoc non potest sponsus non habere pro malo. Sicut enim duplex est amor, ita duplex odium vel contemptus, quia "quoties dicitur unum oppositorum, et reliquum" (Arist. V. Ethic. 1). Contemptus anuli, quasi sit parvum et vile donum, redundat in sponsum; sed contemptus anuli, quasi nihil reputetur comparatione amoris sponsi, iste est ad gloriam sponsi; et de hoc contemptu dicitur Cantici ultimo. Si dederit homo omnem substantiam domus suae pro dilectione, quasi nihil despiciet eam. *Comment. in Eccles. Prooemium.* 2 (VI 6).

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of his aesthetic as it is for any other aspect of his work. One might say that it is particularly important for a complete picture of his aesthetic taken in its broadest sense.

Although the words *art* and *arts* were used by the Seraphic Doctor to mean all kinds of secular and worldly knowledge, comprising the Trivium and Quadrivium of the seven liberal arts, we are not here interested in that aspect, but only in what pertains to a better understanding of aesthetic. In a treatise entitled, *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*, he is using the word *art* in a wider sense, and has for a purpose to prove scientifically that all secular knowledge is unified and clarified when grouped under theology and studied in the light of its truth. There is found in this opusculum some interesting material on mechanical arts, as Saint Bonaventure calls them, following Hugh of St. Victor. These arts are a result of a kind of knowledge given by a special light from God called *lumen exterius*, because it has to do with the making of external things. There are three other kinds of illumination treated: the *lumen inferius* dealing with the light of sense knowledge; *lumen interius*, or philosophical knowledge; and *lumen superius*, or the light of grace and Sacred Scripture, to which the others lead, or in Saint Bonaventure's terminology, to which the others are reduced.[1]

The first light, which illumines the mind in respect to *figures artificiales*, is rightly called the light of mechanical art because it deals with external things and supplies the needs of the body. Since it can also be considered in a certain way servile and less than philosophical knowledge, it is called external. The seven mechanical arts, as given by Hugh of St. Victor and repeated by Saint Bonaventure, are weaving, armour-making, agriculture, hunting, navigation, medicine, and the dramatic art. The first five of these we would

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[1] Licet autem omnis illuminatio cognitionis interna sit, possumus tamen rationabiliter distinguere, ut dicamus, quod est lumen exterius, scilicet lumen artis mechanicae; lumen inferius, scilicet lumen cognitionis sensitivae; lumen interius, scilicet lumen cognitionis philosophicae; lumen superius, scilicet lumen gratiae et sacrae Scripturae. *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam* 1; min. ed., p. 365.

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readily classify today as crafts and skills.[1] Medicine, however, would hardly be classified as art at all, at least art from an aesthetic point of view. It is interesting to find listed among the medieval mechanical arts what we so unanimously characterize a fine art — dramatic art. The distinction of fine art did not exist until much later than Saint Bonaventure. Yet when he comes to distinguish between the purposes of the mechanical arts, he shows that they are for man's consolation or comfort, or for driving away some need, that is, their purpose is either to benefit or to delight.[2] Only the dramatic art will fit into the category of spiritual comfort and delight. The other mechanical arts have for purpose the comfort or betterment of the exterior man. This might be an indication that already Saint Bonaventure, probably entirely unintentionally, but nevertheless, very really, has made one of the distinctions that separates mechanical arts from the fine arts. He says there is no physical need supplied by the dramatic art, but only consolation and delight. Included in dramatic art are not only plays, but every form of entertainment, such as song, music, drama, and dancing.[3] He quotes Horace as saying, *Either to serve or to please is the wish of the poets*, and again, *He hath gained universal applause who hath combined the profitable with the pleasing*. After a detailed analysis of the precise field of activity of each of the other mechanical arts

[1] Primum igitur lumen, quod illuminat ad figuras artificiales, quae quasi exterius sunt et propter supplendam corporis indigentiam repertae, dicitur lumen artis mechanicae; quae, quia quodam modo servilis est et degenerat a cognitione philosophiae, recte potest dici exterius. Et illud septuplicatur secundum septem artes mechanicas, quas assignat Hugo in Didascalico, quae sunt scilicet lanificium, armatura, agricultura, venatio, navigatio, medicina, theatrica. *Ibid.* 2; min. ed., pp. 365—366.

[2] Quoniam omnis ars mechanica aut est ad solatium, aut ad commodum; sive aut est ad excludendam tristitiam, aut indigentiam; sive aut prodest, aut delectat, secundum illud Horatii: "Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetae." Et iterum: "Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci" (Epist. ad Pisones sive de Arte poetica, v. 333, et v. 343). *Ibid.*

[3] Si est ad solatium et delectationem, sic est theatrica, quae est ars ludorum, omnem modum ludendi continens, sive in cantibus, sive in organis, sive in figmentis, sive in gesticulationibus corporis. *Ibid.*, pp. 366—367.

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and their subdivisions, he returns to a single remark about the dramatic art, indicating that somehow it did not fit in very well with the general scheme of the wholly *external* light, by remarking that *Theatrica autem est unica — The dramatic art, however, is unique.*[1]

Mechanical arts, like the other forms of knowledge mentioned by Saint Bonaventure, — sense knowledge, and natural, rational and moral philosophy, are ordered to the knowledge of Sacred Scripture in that they are contained and perfected there, and by this means, ordered to the eternal illumination. The conclusion that terminates this line of thought necessarily follows: all our knowledge should have as a principle and foundation the knowledge of Sacred Scripture, especially the interpretation referred to as anagogical, rather than the literal, or allegorical, or moral meanings. The anagogical sense is that which shows an upward way to God by giving an understanding of what should be sought for to attain the happiness of the saints.[2] This return of the light of mechanical knowledge to God, from whom it originates, closes the circle and there follows rest, for man is led back to God from whom he came.

The sole purpose of mechanical art is the production of works of art. In the illumination of mechanical art Saint Bonaventure sees a pathway leading to an understanding of Sacred Scripture. A consideration of the production of a work of art signifies first the generation and Incarnation of the Verbum, secondly, the pattern of human life, and lastly, the union of the soul with God. Saint Bonaventure shows how this is true on the part of the work of art from a consideration of its production, effect, and the advantage

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[1] Theatrica autem est unica. *Ibid.*, p. 368.

[2] Habet postremo ipsa Scriptura profunditatem, quae consistit in multiplicitate mysticarum intelligentiarum. Nam praeter litteralem sensum habet in diversis locis exponi tripliciter, scilicet allegorice, moraliter et anagogice. Est autem allegoria, quando per unum factum indicatur aliud factum, secundum quod credendum est. Tropologia sive moralitas est, quando per id quod factum est, datur intelligi aliud, quod faciendum est. Anagogia, quasi sursum ductio, est, quando datur intelligi illud quod desiderandum est, scilicet aeterna felicitas Beatorum. *Brevil. Prolog.* 4, 1; min. ed., p. 20.

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of the work, and also on the part of the worker, if we consider his art or skill, the quality of the effect produced, or its utility.[1]

The production or *egressus* of a work of art goes forth from the artist according to a similitude or likeness in the mind. The artist studies this before he produces what he has there planned. He then produces an exterior work as similar as possible to the interior exemplar in his mind. If he were able to produce an effect that could love and know him, he would do so. And if the effect could know its maker, it would be by means of the similitude according to which it proceeded from the mind of its maker. But if the understanding of the created effect were darkened so that it could not lift itself beyond itself, then it would be necessary, in order for it to arrive at a knowledge of its creator, that the similitude according to which it was produced, should condescend to assume the nature of the created in order that the maker could be clasped and known. Thus no creature proceeds from the highest Creator except through the eternal Verbum. Through the Verbum are produced, not only creatures having the characteristics of vestige, but also of image, that these, by knowledge and love, can be united to God. But since original sin brought darkness to the intellect, preventing it from contemplating its Creator, the Eternal and Invisible was made visible and assumed a body that He might lead us back to the Father. Thus in the consideration of the *egressus* or production of mechanical art, we see the eternal generation of the Word and the Incarnation.[2]

[1] Per hunc modum est reperire in illuminatione artis mechanicae, cuius tota intentio versatur circa artificialium productionem. In qua ista tria possumus intueri, scilicet Verbi generationem et incarnationem, vivendi ordinem et Dei et animae foederationem. Et hoc, si consideremus egressum, effectum et fructum; vel sic: artem operandi, qualitatem effecti artificii et utilitatem fructus eliciti. *De Reduct. Art. ad Theol.* 11; min. ed., pp. 375—376.

[2] Si consideremus egressum, videbimus, quod effectus artificialis exit ab artifice, mediante similitudine existenti in mente; per quam artifex excogitat, antequam producat, et inde producit, sicut disposuit. Producit autem artifex exterius opus assimilatum exemplari interiori eatenus qua potest melius; et si talem effectum posset producere, qui ipsum amaret et cognosceret utique faceret; et si effectus ille cognosceret suum opificem, hoc esset mediante similitudine, secundum quam ab artifice processit; et

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Moreover, in the illumination of mechanical art one can see a pattern of life, a *vivendi ordinem.* The effect produced by mechanical art is a work that is at once beautiful, useful, and enduring. These are qualities intended by the artist, and without which the work will not be valued or acceptable. Saint Bonaventure then notes that, according to Aristotle, there are three things similar to these needed for an act of virtue: knowledge, will, and unchanging and persevering work.[1] One can see an association between a work of art and an act of virtue. Saint Bonaventure says that knowledge renders a work beautiful, the will renders it useful, and perseverance renders it lasting, thus calling into action the three appetites of the soul, the rational, the concupiscible, and the irascible.[2]

The production of a work of art can also lead one to an understanding of the union of the soul with God. An artist who makes

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si haberet obtenebratos oculos cognitionis, ut non posset supra se elevari, necesse esset ad hoc, ut ad cognitionem sui opificis duceretur, quod similitudo, per quam productus esset effectus, condescenderet usque ad illam naturam, quae ab eo posset capi et cognosci. Per hunc modum intellige, quod a summo Opifice nulla creatura processit nisi per Verbum aeternum "in quo omnia disposuit," et per quod produxit non solum creaturas habentes rationem vestigii, sed etiam imaginis, ut eidem assimilari possint per cognitionem et amorem. Et quoniam per peccatum rationalis creatura oculum contemplationis obnubilatum habuit; decentissimum fuit, ut aeternum et invisibile fieret visibile et assumeret carnem, ut nos ad Patrem reduceret. Et hoc est quod dicitur Ioannis decimo guarto: *Nemo venit ad Patrem nisi per me;* et Matthaei undecimo: *Patrem nemo novit nisi Filius, et cui voluerit Filius revelare.* Et ideo dicitur *Verbum caro factum.* Considerantes igitur illuminationem artis mechanicae quantum ad operis egressus, intuebimur ibi Verbum generatum et incarnatum, id est Divinitatem et humanitatem et totius fidei integritatem. *Ibid.* 12; min. ed., pp. 376—377.

[1] Aristot. II Ethic. 4; X Ethic. 9.

[2] Si vero consideremus effectum, intuebimur vivendi ordinem. Omnis enim artifex intendit producere opus pulcrum et utile et stabile; et tunc est carum et acceptabile opus, cum habet istas tres conditiones. Iuxta haec tria necesse est reperiri tria in ordine vivendi, scilicet "scire, velle et impermutabiliter sive perseveranter operari." (Aristot. Ethic. II, 4.) Scientia reddit opus pulcrum, voluntas reddit utile, perseverantia reddit stabile. Primum est in rationali, secundum in concupiscibili, tertium in irascibili. *De Reduct. Art. ad Theol.* 13, min. ed., p. 377.

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a work of art does so in order to derive either praise for his work, or some profit, or simply for the pleasure and delight that he experiences. These three purposes correspond to the objects of the three appetites of the soul: the rational power seeks a noble good, the concupiscible a useful good, and the irascible an agreeable good. Hence it can be seen that God, the Supreme Artist, made the rational soul that it might praise Him and that He might take delight in it. On the part of the soul itself, it has been created to recognize God as the object of its three appetites, and by praising, serving, and delighting in Him to be at rest. These ends are accomplished through charity, wherein are found union and delight. Thus the illumination of mechanical art carries one along the path that leads to an understanding of Sacred Scripture through its many similitudes.[1]

In a further consideration of art Saint Bonaventure incorporated his theory of numbers, following the Augustinian tradition, advancing further than his illustrious predecessor did in an analysis of how numbers determine the creation of any work of art.

Every created thing, said Saint Bonaventure, following Saint Augustine, has these three characteristics: *modus*, *species*, and *ordo*.

[1] Si consideremus fructum, inveniemus Dei et animae unionem. Omnis enim artifex, qui aliquod opus facit, aut facit, ut per illud laudetur, aut ut per illud sibi aliquid operetur vel lucretur, aut ut in illo delectetur, secundum tria, quae sunt in appetibilibus, scilicet bonum honestum, conferens et delectabile (Aristot. I Rhetor. c. 16, et II Ethic. 3). Propter haec tria fecit Deus animam rationalem, ut ipsa eum laudaret, ut ipsa illi serviret, ut ipsa in eo delectaretur et quiesceret; et hoc est per caritatem, *in qua qui manet in Deo manet, et Deus in eo* (Epist. I Ioan. 4, 16), ita quod est ibi quaedam mirabilis unio et ex unione mirabilis delectatio; quoniam, secundum quod dicitur in Proverbiis, *deliciae meae esse cum filiis hominum*. Ecce, quomodo illuminatio artis mechanicae via est ad illuminationem sacrae Scripturae, et nihil est in ea, quod non praedicet veram sapientiam, et ideo sacra Scriptura frequenter talibus similitudinibus utitur satis recte. *Ibid.*, 14; min. ed., 377—378.

Here is another interesting text: In moralibus nobilioris artificis est uti instrumento facto quam ipsum facere — nobilior est miles, qui utitur ense, quam faber, qui fecit. IV S. 23, 2, 1 (IV 596)... ratio huius est, quoniam gradus dignitatis est in eis secundum ordinationem ad finem, et utens instrumento immediatior est fini quam fabricans III S. 23, 2, 1 (III 597).

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Modus is not to be understood in the Aristotelian sense. It means in Saint Bonaventure's thought a measure or limit. Corresponding to these three is a similar set of characteristics, also from Saint Augustine: *mensura*, *numerus*, and *pondus*.[1] *Mensura* corresponds to *modus*, and has the same signification. *Numerus* corresponds to *species*. Thus the meaning of the statement, *All things are full of numbers*,[2] becomes clear, for one already understands that everything has a certain species, by which it is known and according to which it is beautiful.[3] *Pondus* signifies the natural inclination of a thing, and is clearly related to *ordo*, the direction of a thing to an end. As man is ordered to God, so are all things beneath man ordered to man as an immediate end, and through him to God as a final end.[4] These two sets of characteristics, modus-species-ordo and mensura-numerus-pondus, show that every created thing is (1) limited, (2) is of a kind, and (3) is naturally ordered to an end. This applies both in the metaphysical and ethical order.

Relative to the question of numbers in things, modern science illustrates the fact in a physical way. Number is understood as a measure of motion and the principle of rhythm which is a periodic movement. The ancient intuition that all was movement and vibration

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[1] Primo modo aspectus contemplantis, res in se ipsis considerans, videt in eis pondus, numerum et mensuram (Sap. 11, 21); pondus quoad situm, ubi inclinantur, numerum, quo distinguuntur, et mensuram qua limitantur. Ac per hoc videt in eis modum, speciem et ordinem, nec non substantiam, virtutem et operationem. Ex quibus consurgere potest sicut ex vestigio ad intelligendum potentiam, sapientiam et bonitatem Creatoris immensam. *Itiner. Mentis in Deum*, I, 11; min. ed., pp. 299—300. Also *Quaest. Disput. De Mysterio Trin.* 1, 2 (V 54).

[2] Necesse est, omnia esse numerosa. *Ibid.* I, 10; min. ed., p. 312.

[3] Quoniam igitur nomen speciei importat similitudinem et importat cognoscendi rationem, importat etiam pulcritudinem. I S. 31, 2, 1, 3 (I 544).

[4] Et quoniam laudem approbare, veritatem scire, dona in usum assumere non est nisi solummodo rationalis creaturae, ideo non habent ipsae creaturae irrationales immediate ad Deum ordinari, sed mediante creatura rationali. Ipsa autem creatura rationalis, quia de se nata est et laudare et nosse et res alias in facultatem voluntatem voluntatis assumere, nata est ordinari in Deum immediate. II S. 16, 1, 1; min. ed., p. 405.

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has been incorporated into modern physics. Light rays, even the x-ray, infra-red, and ultra-violet, beyond the sight of the naked eye, and sound, including the short and long wave radio, radar, electricity, the neutrons and protons of the atom, once a theory, now an all-too-certain fact, show that there is a physical foundation for saying that all things are full of numbers.

Founded in the concrete order, these numbers will be absorbed through the instrumentality of the senses of the body into the soul, to be fixed in the memory. Under the light of the eternal laws shining upon them these numbers will be reorganized into new creations and proceed outward again to become concretized in an external work of art. Saint Bonaventure in developing his theory of art shows his customary deference for tradition and veneration for the opinions of Saint Augustine. If this were all, he would be merely a commentator, albeit a great commentator. But Saint Bonaventure was more than that; he was an original, profound, and fearless thinker. When he confronted truth, he became its champion, although always with suavity and mildness. What he found false or defective, he left true and complete, as is evidenced in his masterly *Commentary on the Sentences*. In the present treatment he introduces a new number, not spoken of by Saint Augustine, and this new number, *artificiales*, is of tremendous importance in a consideration of a theory of art and beauty. A clearer understanding will be had by tracing step by step the cycle of numbers proposed.

Since numbers exist in all things, they are likewise in bodies, but more especially in sounds, the number of which he calls *sonores*. If one follows the journey of these first numbers from the exterior into the depths of the soul, one finds that they are distinguished by different names at each step. In the senses numbers are called *occursores*, abstracted from the external numbers, and received into the senses. The pleasure that is derived from the turning of the intention upon the received species is in terms of the numbers *sensuales* and follows upon a perceived harmony.[1] These numbers are

[1] Delectatio est coniunctio convenientis cum convenientia. I S. 1, 3, 1 (I 38).

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stored in the memory as *memorales*. The first part of the cycle is then completed. In the soul there dwells a power of judging, as has been said, and this power is not derived from the soul itself, because those laws by which one judges must be above the one who judges. They are uncreated, existing in the Eternal Exemplar from whom descends all beauty as from its Source, its Cause, and its Model.[1] Only according to the eternal Exemplar can one judge with certitude. He is not only the Model after which all things are made, but also the power which operates all, the Wisdom which conserves all, distinguishing all and giving to each its proper form. Finally, He is the Rule according to which the soul judges that which is offered to it by the senses. It is to this rule which is in the soul, yet superior to it that the numbers in the memory, *memorales*, present themselves. This rule assumes numbers also, called *iudiciales*. In the innermost part of the soul are formed, under the action of the *iudiciales*, new numbers, *artificiales*, which are the numbers of new forms created by the free power of man under the influence of the divine Light. These new numbers, leaving the soul, are received by the body, and become the numbers *progressores*, as, for example, in the dance and in pantomime. Projected through the body to an external terminus, as to clay, marble, stone, canvas, or musical instrument, the result will be a work of art, properly so-called. There is no question of the *habitus* of Aristotelian derivation, where stress is laid on skill in accomplishing the difficult.[2] Here is the creation of a new form,

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[1] Deus est omnis creaturae origo, exemplar et finis. *Itiner. Ment.* in *Deum*, II, 12; min. ed., p. 313.

[2] Sed contra est quod Philosophus VI *Ethic.*, ponit artem esse virtutem... Respondeo quod ars nihil aliud est quam ratio recta aliquorum operum faciendorum. Quorum tamen bonum non consistit in eo quod appetitus humanus aliquo modo se habet, sed in eo quod ipsum opus quod fit, in se bonum est. Non enim pertinet ad laudem artificis, inquantum artifex est, qua voluntate opus faciat, sed quale sit opus quod facit. Sic igitur *ars proprie loquendo habitus operativus est.* Et tamen in aliquo convenit cum habitibus speculativis, quia etiam ad ipsos habitus speculativos pertinet qualiter se habeat appetitus humanus ad illas. Dummodo enim verum geometra demonstret, non refert qualiter se habeat secundum appetitivam partem, utrum sit laetus vel iratus; sicut nec in artifice refert, ut dictum

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artificiales, whose initial material is found in the *memoriales*, but whose form has the freshness and individuality of a new creation. The form is really something newly created, and imposed upon a material already existing. The creative impulse in the soul of man, then, can be considered as a very special power, which has been stimulated, consciously or unconsciously, by the Eternal Beauty. There is a response to what the intellect perceives, for the intellect alone cannot produce; there is a response of love issuing from the will whereby the new forms, *artificiales*, are projected outward, using the *progressores* as an intermediate step.[1] In these few lines Saint Bonaventure has anticipated what modern aestheticians have endeavored to say.[2] Most recognize that the creative impulse is

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est. Et ideo eo modo ars habet rationem virtutis, sicut et habitus speculativi, inquantum scilicet nec ars, nec habitus speculativus, faciunt bonum opus quantum ad usum, quod est proprium virtutis perficientis appetitum sed solum quantum ad facultatem bene agendi. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theol.* I—II, 57, 3; vol. II, 1007a (Ottawa ed.).

[1] Dicit enim, numeros esse in corporibus et maxime in sonis et vocibus, et hos vocat sonantes; numeros ab his abstractos et in ensibus nostris receptos, et hos vocat occursores; numeros ab anima procedentes in corpus, sicut patet gesticulationibus et saltationibus, et hos vocat progressores; numeros in delectationibus sensuum ex conversione intentionis super speciem receptam, et hos vocat sensuales; numeros in memoria retentos, et hos vocat memoriales; numeros etiam, per quos de his omnibus iudicamus, et hos vocat iudiciales, qui, ut dictum est, necessario sunt supra mentem tanquam infallibiles et indiiudicabiles. Ab his autem imprimuntur mentibus nostris numeri artificiales, quos tamen inter illos gradus non enumerat Augustinus, quia connexi sunt iudicialibus; et ab his manant numeri progressores, ex quibus creantur numerosae formae artificiatorum, ut a summis per media ordinatus fiat descensus ad infima. Ad hos etiam gradatim ascendimus a numeris sonantibus, mediantibus occursoribus, sensualibus et memorialibus. *Itiner. Mentis in Deum* II, 10; min. ed., p. 311.

[2] P.M. Léonard, S. J., "Art et Spiritualité," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique, Doctrine et Histoire*, publié sous la direction de Marcel Viller, S. J., assisté de F. Cavallera et J. De Guibert, S. J., Paris, Gabriel Beauchesne et ses Fils, 1937, Tome I, cols. 899—934. This may be considered as one of the latest, most complete, and completely orthodox statements of the Catholic position in the relation between art and spirituality. It is interesting to see how well the thought of Saint Bonaventure fits in with the modern presentation of the subject.

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something unusual, an added, transitory power with which some men have been favored, and by which they are enabled to create new forms of beauty. What this power is, where it comes from, how to capture and hold it, are unsolved problems for those who have no faith, and do not understand how close God dwells and how universal His influence, how beautiful He is who is the Exemplar of all beauty. The creative impulse, according to Saint Bonaventure, comes from God, acting in such a way through the infallible *iudiciales* that what a man first creates spiritually in his mind is truly a work of man, but inspired by God. Moved by love for what he has conceived under inspiration, he is urged to materialize the lovely form in matter. One can see in him, the artist, an image of God the supreme Artist, as Saint Bonaventure loves to call Him. The creative impulse on the part of man is a natural effect of the influence of the *iudiciales*, and the artistic power of an artist can be called a natural grace, as contrasted with supernatural grace. Although the former can exist without the latter, as can any natural grace, for example, physical beauty, still it does not have its fulness without the assistance of supernatural grace. Thus it can be seen that Saint Bonaventure, an artist himself, is peculiarly fitted to give us a theory of art, for he sees that human personality in its deepest root is in contact with the Divine.

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CHAPTER VI

HOW CREATURES RESEMBLE THEIR CREATOR AND LEAD TO HIM

Among the things of the world, certain ones are footprints *(vestigium)*, certain ones, images *(imago)*, some corporal, some spiritual, others temporal or eternal. They are found both in us and outside of us. By the external we are led to the internal. In order that we may arrive at the consideration of the First Principle, that which is most spiritual and eternal and above us, there is a process from without, inward, and from within, upward.[1]

How can the way and the truth of God be found? Footprints place us in the way. Within us, it is the image of God that shows

[1] We give this name (contemplative theology or mystical philosophy) to doctrinal explanations of a higher order, mystical not only by their tendency, but also by their very object; not in the sense that mystical graces are here studied theoretically (Mystical Theology) but because they are copiously used in the teaching that is developed. It is a doctrine familiar mainly to divinely taught minds who possess an eminent idea of God (due to contemplation) and are capable of applying it to the most diverse objects in order to judge them in the light of God. This superior penetration gives rise to admirable syntheses of a complex nature in which both philosophical and theological elements find a place. A greater effort is made to unite rather than to distinguish, in order to subject all things to God, and thus lead souls to Him in every possible way. The spirit and method of St. Bonaventure is very manifest in this, while the qualities that distinguish him from St. Thomas are very clearly marked. This may be seen from a simple analysis of the *Itinerarium*, a work of but a few pages, whose contents give it capital importance and marvelously reveal the method and genius of its author. F. Cayré, *Manual of Patrology and History of Theology*, trans. by H. Howitt, Vol. 2, Society of St. John the Evangelist, Desclée & Co., Belgium, 1940, pp. 522—523.

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us He is eternal, spiritual, interior, and by this knowledge of the First Principle we enter into the truth of God. Thus from the image of God within the soul one passes on to what is eternal, most spiritual, and above us.[1] In this we see the triple existence of things: in matter, in the intellect, and in the eternal art.[2] Corresponding to these modes of existence, our mind has three principal aspects. The first is toward the corporal exterior, called *animalitas* or *sensualitas;* the second, within itself, is called *spiritus;* the third, above itself, is given the name *mens.*[3] By the use of all of these, man should dispose himself to ascend to God to love Him with his whole heart and soul and mind. In this consists the perfect observance of the law and Christian wisdom.

Yet Saint Bonaventure warns that unless the mirror of the mind be clean and polished, little or nothing in the exterior mirror of sensible things will be seen.[4] The man of God should exercise himself in remorse of conscience before raising his eyes to the rays of wisdom shining forth from the mirrors in the world, lest from the very beholding of

[1] In hac oratione orando illuminatur ad cognoscendum divinae ascensionis gradus. Cum enim secundum statum conditionis nostrae ipsa rerum universitas sit scala ad ascendendum in Deum; et in rebus quaedam sint vestigium, quaedam imago, quaedam corporalia, quaedam spiritualia, quaedam temporalia, quaedam aeviterna, ac per hoc quaedam extra nos, quaedam intra nos; ad hoc quod perveniamus ad primum principium considerandum, quod est spiritualissimum et aeternum et supra nos, oportet, nos transire per vestigium, quod est corporale et temporale et extra nos et hoc est deduci in via Dei; oportet, nos intrare ad mentem nostram quae est imago Dei aeviterna, spiritualis et intra nos, et hoc est ingredi in veritate Dei; oportet, nos transcendere ad aeternum, spiritualissimum et supra nos, aspiciendo ad primum principium, et hoc est laetari in Dei notitia et reverentia Maiestatis. *Itiner.* I, 2; min., ed. p. 295.

[2] . . . Haec respicit triplicem rerum existentiam, scilicet in materia, in intelligentia et in arte aeterna . . . *Ibid.*, I, 2; ed. min., p. 295.

[3] Secundum hunc triplicem progressum mens nostra tres habet aspectus principales. Unus est ad corporalia exteriora secundum quem vocatur animalitas seu sensualitas; alius intra se et in se, secundum quem dicitur spiritus; tertius supra se, secundum quem dicitur mens. *Ibid.*, I, 4; ed. min., p. 296.

[4] . . . quod parum aut nihil est speculum exterius propositum, nisi speculum mentis nostrae tersum fuerit et politum. *Ibid.*

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the rays of reflected truth, it fall into greater darkness.[1] By the light received in prayer, he will learn the steps in the divine ascension and perceive that for man in his present condition, the whole universe is a ladder by which the soul can ascend to God.[2]

To ascend this Jacob's ladder, one must first descend to the lowest level, by proposing to oneself the whole of this sensible world as a mirror, through which to pass to God, the Creator of all, as true Hebrews passing from Egypt to the promised land; or indeed as Christians, passing with Christ from this world to the Father. In this one will show himself a lover of wisdom.[3]

The material world and the spiritual world Saint Bonaventure compares to a book written without and within. The outer world of sensible things is a shadow, a way, a vestige, a book written on the outside. Although in every creature there is the refulgence of the divine Exemplar, it is found here mixed with shadow. It is, nevertheless, a way leading to that Exemplar. And just as one sees that the light of the sun, when penetrating a stained glass window, is broken into diverse colors, so does the Divine Ray shine in individual material creatures in many ways and in many properties. Herein

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[1] . . . ad gemitum orationis . . . primum quidem lectorem invito, ne forte credat, quod sibi sufficiat lectio sine unctione, speculatio sine devotione, investigatio sine admiratione, circumspectio sine exsultatione, industria sine pietate, scientia sine caritate, intelligentia sine humilitate, studium absque divina gratia, speculum absque sapientia divinitus inspirata. *Ibid.*

[2] Cum enim secundum statum conditionis nostrae ipsa rerum universitas sit scala ad ascendendum in Deum; . . . *Ibid.*, I, 2; min. ed., p. 295.

Unde ipsa, substernens sibi philosophicam cognitionem et assumens de naturis rerum, quantum sibi opus est ad fabricandum speculum, per quod fiat representatio divinorum, quasi scalam erigit, quae in sui infimo tangit terram, sed in suo cacumine tangit caelum (Gen. 28, 12) . . . *Breviloq.* Prol. 3, 2; ed. min., p. 19.

[3] Quoniam igitur prius est ascendere quam descendere in scala Iacob (Gen. 28, 12), primum gradum ascensionis collocemus in imo, ponendo totum istum mundum sensibilem nobis tanquam speculum, per quod transeamus ad Deum, opificem summum, ut simus veri Hebraei transeuntes de Aegypto ad terram Patribus repromissam, simus etiam Christiani cum Christo transeuntes ex hoc mundo ad Patrem (Joan. 13, 1), simus et sapientiae amatores . . . *Ibid.*, I, 9; ed. min., p. 299.

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is found the wisdom of God, for everything that has been created bears a certain resemblance to the wisdom of God as if sculptured to His likeness.[1]

When the soul looks upon things in this light, it will see that it cannot rest in them, but that it ought to seek further. From the shadow it should look for the light; from the way, to the end; from the vestige, to the truth; from the book, to true knowledge which is found in God. The ability to read the book of creatures is the privilege of the most highly contemplative persons. Those who, as natural philosophers, know things only according to their proper natures will not be able to do so because they do not see things as vestiges.[2]

In created things it is especially God's attributes of power, wisdom, and goodness, that shine forth. The perceptions of externals are transmitted to the interior sense by the carnal sense, which acts as the servant of the intellect in its triple operation of contemplation, faith, and reason.[3]

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[1] Ad hos splendores exemplares ratio ducit et fides. Sed ulterius triplex est adiutorium ad surgendum ad exemplares rationes, creaturae scilicet sensibilis, creaturae spiritualis, Scripturae sacramentalis, quae continet mysteria. Quantum ad primum totus mundus est umbra, via, vestigium et est liber scriptus forinsecus. (See *Brevil.* II, 11, 2; min. ed. p. 91.) In qualibet enim creatura est refulgentia divini exemplaris, sed cum tenebra permixta; unde est sicut quaedam opacitas admixta lumini. Item, est via ducens in exemplar. Sicut tu vides, quod radius intrans per fenestram diversimode coloratur secundum colores diversos diversarum partium; sic radius divinus in singulis creaturis diversimode et in diversis proprietatibus refulget; in Sapientia (Cap. 6, 17): In viis suis ostendit se. — Item, est vestigium sapientiae Dei. Unde creatura non est nisi sicut quoddam simulacrum sapientiae Dei et quoddam sculptile. Et ex his omnibus est quidam liber scriptus foris. *Coll. in Hexaem.* XII, 14 (V 386).

[2] Quando ergo anima videt haec, videtur sibi, quod deberet transire ab umbra ad lucem, a via ad terminum, a vestigio ad veritatem, a libro ad scientiam veram, quae est in Deo. Hunc librum legere est altissimorum contemplativorum, non naturalium philosophorum, quia solum sciunt naturam rerum, non ut vestigium. *Ibid.*, 15.

[3] Relucet autem Creatoris summa potentia et sapientia et benevolentia in rebus creatis secundum quod hoc tripliciter nuntiat sensus carnis sensui interiori. Sensus enim carnis aut deservit intellectui rationabiliter investi-

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The intellect in contemplating considers things in themselves, and recognizes in them *pondus*, *numerus*, and *mensura*, obscurely translated as weight, number and measure. Through contemplation the intellect also perceives things under the aspects of *modus*, *species*, and *ordo*, and recognizes their substance, strength, immense power, wisdom, and goodness. From there it rises as from footprints to the understanding of the immense power, wisdom, and goodness of their Creator.[1]

The intellect in its second activity, that of faith, considers the origin, the development, and the termination of this world, and sees the laws of nature, Scripture, and grace also manifesting God's power, providence, and justice.

It is reasoning, the third operation of the intellect, which is particularly interesting from a philosophical point of view. Saint Bonaventure names under the terms *esse*, *vivere*, and *discernere*, three characteristics that creatures may possess. The lowest in rank has simply *esse*, and possesses corporality only; secondly, there are those beings which possess both *esse* and *vivere*, and these are of higher rank than the former. Finally, superior to either of these is the third, including, besides, *esse* and *vivere*, the third power, *discernere*. Here spirituality is found with corporality in the same subject. Thus one infers that there must be some being purely spiritual, and of a nature better and more dignified than the other two.[2] A similar inference can be drawn from the progressive consideration of mutable and corruptible things. Earthly things are continually changing and constantly sinking into decay. Heavenly bodies, although changing, are incorruptible. From these, the mind rises to an under-

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ganti, aut fideliter credenti, aut intellectualiter contemplanti. Contemplans considerat rerum existentiam actualem, credens rerum decursum habitualem ratiocinans rerum praecellentiam potentialem. *Ibid.*, I, 10; ed. min., p. 299.

[1] See p. 189, note 1.

[2] Tertio modus aspectus ratiocinabiliter investigantis videt, quaedam tantum esse, quaedam autem esse et vivere, quaedam vero esse, vivere, et discernere; et prima quidem esse minora, secunda media, tertia meliora. — Videt iterum, quaedam esse tantum corporalia, quaedam partim corporalia, partim spiritualia; ex quo advertit, aliqua esse mere spiritualia tanquam utriusque meliora et digniora. *Itiner.*, I, 13; ed. min., p. 300.

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standing that there must be a being who is both immutable and incorruptible, and that its position is more lofty than the material heaven. Hence from visible things one rises to the consideration of the power, wisdom, and goodness of God. Being, life, intelligence, spirituality, incorruptibility, and immutability are attributes of God that anyone can apprehend who will contemplate humbly and prayerfully the visible world.[1]

Saint Bonaventure, in a very compact and analytical way, demonstrates how the seven-fold condition of creatures gives a seven-fold testimony of three fundamental attributes of God. Creatures, in respect to their origin, size, multitude, beauty, plenitude, operation, and order, individually reflect God's power, wisdom, and goodness.[2]

Considering the origin of things, one sees the tremendous power of God in calling all things into existence *ex nihilo;* His wisdom, in the clearness by which each creature is distinguished from another; His goodness, in the profuse adornment lavished upon the visible world.[3]

It is particularly in light and fire that the magnitude of things manifest God. Magnitude connotes length, width, and depth. Here we see that the broad diffusion of light shows power; the intimacy, continuity, and diffusion of fire illustrate wisdom and goodness.

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[1] Videt nihilominus, quaedam esse mutabilia et corruptibilia, ut terrestria, quaedam mutabilia et incorruptibilia, ut caelestia; ex quo advertit, quaedam esse immutabilia et incorruptibilia, ut supercaelestia. Ex his ergo visibilibus consurgit ad considerandum Dei potentiam, sapientiam et bonitatem ut entem, viventem et intelligentem, mere spiritualem et incorruptibilem et intransmutabilem. *Ibid.*, I, 13; ed. min., p. 300.

[2] Haec autem consideratio dilatatur secundum septiformem conditionem creaturarum, quae est divinae potentiae, sapientiae, et bonitatis testimonium septiforme, si consideretur cunctarum rerum origo, magnitudo, multitudo, pulchritudo, plenitudo, operatio et ordo. *Ibid.* I, 14; min., ed. p. 301.

[3] Origo namque rerum secundum creationem, distinctionem et ornatum quantum ad opera sex dierum divinam praedicat potentiam cuncta de nihilo producentem, sapientiam cuncta lucide distinguentem et bonitatem cuncta largiter adornantem. *Ibid.*, See also *Brevil.* Pars II, c. 2 and 3; min. ed., pp. 63—67.

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For God is in all things through power, presence, and essence, yet in such a way as to be completely uncircumscribed.[1]

Again, one has only to look about him to see everywhere a vast multitude of creatures, displaying, both a general diversity according to genus and species, and an individual diversity among things of the same species. Here is found a rich variety of forms, figures, and activities, wherein can be seen the immensity of these attributes.[2]

When St. Bonaventure comes to the point of mentioning how the beauty of the world manifests God, he shows a clear understanding of the three elements that constitute the beautiful: line, chiaroscuro, and color. He does not mention them exactly in this way. Instead of chiaroscuro, meaning dark-and-light, he mentions light only. But since from his attestation, all creaturely things bear the mark of creature by their lack of completeness, as the preceding account of the condition of creatures shows, it can be said that in creatures, the beauty of light is enhanced by accompanying shadows. Color stands by itself as concomitant to the beautiful in material things. Saint Bonaventure mentions color only as an element of the beauty of creatures. In other passages concerning spiritual beauty, it will be proportion that is stressed. Since proportion is not mentioned here, it is perhaps because of the rapidity of the thought, interested only in proving that God is reflected in His universe.[3]

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[1] Magnitudo autem rerum secundum molem longitudinis, latitudinis et profunditatis; secundum excellentiam virtutis longe, late et profunde se extendentis, sicut patet in diffusione lucis; secundum efficaciam operationis intimae, continuae et diffusae, sicut patet in operatione ignis, manifeste indicat immensitatem potentiae, sapientiae et bonitatis trini Dei, qui in cunctis rebus per potentiam, praesentiam et essentiam incircumscriptus existit. *Itiner.* I, 14; min., ed. p. 301.

[2] Multitudo vero rerum secundum diversitatem generalem, specialem et individualem in substantia, in forma seu figura et efficacia ultra omnem humanam aestimationem, manifeste trium praedictarum conditionum in Deo immensitatem insinuat et ostendit. *Ibid.*

[3] Pulchritudo autem rerum secundum varietatem luminum, figurarum et colorum in corporibus simplicibus, mixtis et etiam complexionatis, sicut in corporibus caelestibus et mineralibus, sicut lapidibus et metallis, plantis et animalibus, tria praedicta evidenter proclamat. *Ibid.* I, 14;

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From beauty, Saint Bonaventure passes on to a consideration of plenitude. He sees plenitude exhibited in the *rationes seminales*, by which matter is replete with forms. Since form is an active power in respect to matter and possesses strength, it is by virtue of this strength that it is able to produce effects, and simultaneously manifest Him from whom the power came.[1]

Again, the innumerable activities of nature, of art, and of morals, and their variety multiplied beyond counting, show the immensity of the strength, art, and goodness of Him who is *causa essendi, ratio intelligendi, et ordo vivendi.*[2]

Lastly, the order in the world manifests duration, situation and influence. In duration there is a before and an after; in situation an above and a below; in influence, there is that which is more noble and that which less noble. Saint Bonaventure calls the created world the book of creatures wherein is found clearly the primacy, the sublimity, and the dignity of the First Principle.[3]

Not to see or hear these things, and consequently, not to praise and turn to God, is to be blind, deaf, dumb, and lame. Let men open their eyes and ears and heart, says Saint Bonaventure, to see, hear, praise, love, worship, magnify, and honor God in all creatures.

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ed. min., p. 301. Color, however, is not mentioned in the following passage: . . . quod secundum numerales proportiones ordinatum dicitur et connexum denario caelestium orbium et quaternario elementorum, reddentibus ipsum proportionaliter tam pulchrum quam perfectum et ordinatum, ut suo modo suum repraesentet principium. *Brevil.* Pars II, 3, 5; min. ed., p. 67.

[1] Plenitudo autem rerum, secundum quod materia est plena formis secundum rationes seminales; forma est plena virtute secundum activam potentiam; virtus est plena effectibus secundum efficientiam, id ipsum manifeste declarat. *Itiner.* I, 14; min. ed., pp. 301—302.

[2] Operatio multiplex, secundum quod est naturalis, secundum quod est artificialis, secundum quod est moralis, sua multiplicissima varietate ostendit immensitatem illius virtutis, artis et bonitatis, quae quidem est omnibus "causa essendi, ratio intelligendi et ordo vivendi" (August. De Civ. Dei, c. 4). *Ibid.*

[3] Ordo autem secundum rationem durationis, situationis et influentiae, scilicet per prius et posterius, superius et inferius, nobilius et ignobilius, in libro creaturae insinuat manifeste primi principii primitatem, sublimitatem et dignitatem quantum ad infinitatem potentiae: . . . *Ibid.*

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After having briefly treated particular sensible things, Saint Bonaventure passes on from the real, material world external to man, to the ideal world within his soul, that is, from a physical consideration of *esse* to a metaphysical one. The transition is a result of a necessary and natural tendency of the mind to pass from the particular and contingent by the process of abstraction. The metaphysical *esse*, divested of its material element, assumes the ideal properties of universality, immutability, eternity, and necessity. The ideal order has its supreme root and ultimate foundation in God, and leads to Him.[1] The transition can be accomplished by the intellect when it proves and makes clear what it has investigated in a rational way.[2] A more perfect result is accomplished, however, by an intellect that is illuminated in such a way as to be able to contemplate intellectually.[3] Although obscure or practically unknown to the untutored mind, the ideal order is that which Saint Bonaventure, following the lead of Saint Augustine, proposes as the way by which one can pass to divine contemplation.[4] Yet it should be noted that as the physical and intellectual order differ, and the intellect distinguishes between them, so it should also understand that in rising

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[1] Tamen auctor parum moratur in describendis rebus particularibus mundi sensibilis (c. 1), sed continuo transit (c. 2) a mundo materiali (reali) ad mundum idealem sive ad illud esse non physicum, sed metaphysicum, quod mundus habet in mente humana. Ipse enim intellectus apprehendens naturaliter et necessario supergreditur ordinem existendi concretum rerum particularium et contingentium, quarum species abstrahendo et deputando in se concipit, et ita res super ordinem materialem quasi elevat et induit quodam spiritualis ordinis vestimento, id est quibusdam proprietatibus idealibus, scilicet universalitatis, immutabilitatis, aeternitatis et necessitatis, quae ipsi ordini reali rerum materialium minime conveniunt. Porro, ordo ille idealis supremam radicem et ultimum fundamentum habet in Deo et ducit in ipsum. *Itiner. Scolion*, 4; min. ed., p. 353.

[2] Hic transitus fieri potest arguendo et resolvendo ab intellectu rationabiliter investigante . . . *Ibid.*

[3] . . . perfectius autem fit ab eodem illuminato et intellectualiter contemplante. *Ibid.*

[4] Ordo hic idealis, vulgari intellectui obscurus et fere ignotus, a S. Bonaventura, duce S. Augustino, praecipuo studio in capp. 2. 3. 5. 6. proponitur, ut oculus contemplativus transeat ad divina contemplanda. *Ibid.*

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from the ideal or intellectual order to the divine, there is likewise a fundamental shift in the basis of consideration.[1]

There is a higher way to contemplate God than that explained above, where it was seen that in sensible things one can find traces of their First Principle. God can be found not only through sensibles, but also in them, inasmuch as He is in them through essence, power, and presence. All creatures which can be perceived by our senses can enter into our mind, and in this way they can lead us to God.[2]

Through the gates of the five senses, the outer world — the macrocosm — enters the soul of man — the microcosm.[3] The sense of sight receives luminous and colored things; touch, those that are solid. The other senses — taste, hearing, and smell — Saint Bonaventure calls intermediate. Taste receives what is aqueous; hearing, what is aerial. The sense of smell receives a combination of humid, aerial, and fiery, as the aroma of spices evidence.[4] Not only do the five senses perceive sensations of sight, sound, odor,

[1] Supposito triplici illo esse eiusdem rei, talis transitus non difficulter intelligitur; attamen bene attendendum est, quod alia est ratio et via, qua intellectus transit ab ordine reali ad idealem, et alia, quo ab hoc ascendit ad ordinem divinum. *Ibid.*, pp. 353—354.

[2] Sed quoniam circa speculum sensibilium non solum contingit contemplari Deum per ipsa tanquam per vestigia, verum etiam in ipsis, in quantum est in eis per essentiam, potentiam et praesentiam; et hoc considerare est altius quam praecedens: ideo huiusmodi consideratio secundum tenet locum tanquam secundus contemplationis gradus, quo debemus manuduci ad contemplandum Deum in cunctis creaturis, quae ad mentem nostram intrant per corporales sensus. *Itiner.* II, 1; min. ed., p. 303.

[3] Notandum igitur, quod iste mundus, qui dicitur macrocosmus, intrat ad animam nostram, quae dicitur minor mundus, per portas quinque sensuum . . . *Ibid.* II, 2; min. ed., p. 304.

Homo igitur, qui dicitur minor mundus, habet quinque sensus quasi quinque portas, per quas intrat cognitio omnium, quae sunt in mundo sensibili, in animam ipsius. *Ibid.*, II, 3; min. ed., p. 305.

[4] Nam per visum intrant corpora sublimia et luminosa et cetera colorata, per tactum vero corpora solida et terrestria, per tres vero sensus intermedios intrant intermedia, ut per gustum aquea, per auditum aerea, per odoratum vaporabilia, quae aliquid habent de natura humida, aliquid de aerea, aliquid de ignea seu calida, sicut patet in fumo ex aromatibus resoluto. *Ibid.* II, 3; min. ed., p. 305.

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savor, and the four primary qualities of touch, but also the common sensibles; number, magnitude, figure, rest, and motion. Also from the observation of motion in the physical world — both the motion of those inanimate things that must be moved by another, and of animals which have of themselves the power to move or rest — one is led, as from effect to cause, to a knowledge of spiritual motions.[1]

There are, then, three classes of things in the sensible world which enter the human soul through apprehension: particular sensibles, common sensibles, and motion. It is clearly not through their substance that they enter the soul, but through their similitudes. A substance generates a similitude in the medium, which in turn generates a similitude in the external organ. From here the similitude passes on through a similar process to the internal organ. Here the apprehensive power turns upon the similitude in the internal organ and produces the apprehension of all those things which enter the soul the exterior.[2]

The beautiful, suave, and salubrious enter the soul by reason of the delight which their species produce. The delight is a result of a proportion between the object giving the pleasure and the appropriate senses of the subject experiencing the pleasing impres-

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[1] Intrant igitur per has portas tam corpora simplicia quam etiam composita, ex his mixta. Quia vero sensu percipimus non solum haec sensibilia particularia, quae sunt lux, sonus, odor, sapor et quatuor primariae qualitates, quas apprehendit tactus; verum etiam sensibilia communia, quae sunt numerus, magnitudo, figura, quies et motus; et "omne, quod movetur ab alio movetur," et quaedam a se ipsis moventur et quiescunt, ut sunt animalia; dum per hos quinque sensus motus corporum apprehendimus, manuducimur ad cognitionem motorum spiritualium tanquam per effectum in cognitionem causarum. *Ibid.* II, 3; min. ed., p. 305.

[2] Intrat igitur quantum ad tria rerum genera in animam humanam per apprehensionem totus iste sensibilis mundus. Haec autem sensibilia exteriora sunt quae primo ingrediuntur in animam per portas quinque sensuum; intrant, inquam, non per substantias, sed per similitudines suas primo generatas in medio et de medio in organo et de organo exteriori in interiori et de hoc in potentiam apprehensivam; et sic generatio speciei in medio et de medio in organo et conversio potentiae apprehensivae super illam facit apprehensionem omnium eorum quae exterius anima apprehendit. *Ibid.* II, 3; min. ed., pp. 305—306.

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sion. The similitude may have the nature of species or form, and is them called *speciositas*, or beautiful to the sight; or it may have the nature of power or strength, and then it is called suave to the hearing and to the sense of smell; or it may have the nature of efficacy or pleasing impression, and then it is called healthful to the taste and touch.[1]

From the perception of the similitudes of the sensible world, and from the discernment of the causes of beauty, suavity, and salubrity, we are led to see in them the footprints of God. For as an object generates in a medium a similitude, one which is not of the same substance, but only an image of the substance, and which in turn, by being impressed on a sense organ, leads to the knowledge of that which was the original source of the similitude, its principle, so also can be understood in an analogical way, how God leads the mind of man back to Himself.

God, the eternal Light, also generates a Similitude, or Splendor, and this Similitude is co-equal, consubstantial, and omnipresent with Himself. By this first generation of Himself, He produces an Object in the entire medium, and unites Himself to the individual of rational nature as a species does to the corporal organ, so that by this union He is able to lead us back to the Father as to the fontal principle and object.[2] Thus since all cognizable things generate species of themselves, manifestly they proclaim that in them as in

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[1] See p. 71, note 2.

[2] Haec autem omnia sunt vestigia, in quibus speculari possumus Deum nostrum. Nam cum species apprehensa sit similitudo in medio genita et deinde ipsi organo impressa et per illam impressionem in suum principium scilicet in obiectum cognoscendum, ducat; manifeste insinuat, quod illa lux aeterna generat ex se similitudinem seu splendorem coaequalem, consubstantialem et coaeternalem; et quod ille qui est *imago invisibilis Dei et splendor gloriae et figura substantiae eius* (Col. 1, 15 et Hebr. 1, 3), qui ubique est per primam sui generationem, sicut obiectum in toto medio suam generat similitudinem, per gratiam unionis unitur, sicut species corporali organo, individuo rationalis naturae, ut per illam unionem nos reduceret ad Patrem sicut ad frontale principium et obiectum. *Ibid.*, II, 7; min. ed., p. 308.

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mirrors can be seen the eternal generation of the Word, Image, and Son, eternally emanating from God the Father.[1]

What can be understood from this mode is that, since the species causes delight as the source of the beautiful, of the suave, and of the salubrious, so also does it imply that in that first Species is the first beauty, suavity, and salubrity in which there is the highest proportionality as well as an equality in generating. Likewise in this Species is found strength, not through the phantasm, but through the apprehension of truth. The impression made upon the mind is satisfying and adequate, and dimisses all apprehension of insufficiency and indigence.[2] If, therefore, as Saint Augustine says, *Delight consists in the conjunction of the appropriate with the appropriate* and the Similitude of God alone holds most highly the idea of beauty, suavity, and salubrity, and if likewise He is united to the soul, filling its entire capacity according to truth and intimacy and plenitude, it is clear that in God alone is delight found true and fresh as from a fountain, and that from all other delights we are led further on to the seeking of Him.[3]

It is now to be seen how creatures, as in a mirror, triply proclaim the eternal generation of the Son from the Father: namely, by

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[1] Si ergo omnia cognoscibilia habent sui speciem generare, manifeste proclamant, quod in illis tanquam in speculis videri potest aeterna generatio Verbi, Imaginis et Filii a Deo Patre aeternaliter emanantis. *Ibid.*

[2] Secundum hunc modum species delectans ut speciosa, suavis et salubris insinuat, quod in illa prima specie est prima speciositas, suavitas et salubritas, in qua est summa proportionalitas et aequalitas ad generantem; in qua est virtus, non per phantasma, sed per veritatem apprehensionis illabens; in qua est impressio salvans et sufficiens et omnem apprehendentis indigentiam expellens. *Ibid.* II, 8; min. ed., p. 309.

[3] Si ergo 'delectatio est coniunctio convenientis cum convenienti' (August. De Vera Relig. c. 18, n. 35, seq.); et solius Dei similitudo tenet rationem summe speciosi, suavis et salubris; et unitur secundum veritatem et secundum intimitatem et secundum plenitudinem replentem omnem capacitatem: manifeste videri potest quod in solo Deo est fontalis et vera delectatio, et quod ad ipsam ex omnibus delectationibus manuducimur requirendam. *Ibid.*

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diffusion, by expression, and by generation.[1] Each of these types of propagation is divided into four, so that the total will be twelve.

In the first type, that of diffusion, one can consider the spreading of splendor, as from light; of heat from fire; of a river from a spring; and of rain from a cloud. Yet each one of these is defective. In the first case, light that is diffused is unequal to its source; in the second, heat is not united with fire, but is separated from it; the third lacks a unity in time, because water that flows from a spring must do so part by part; and in the fourth, integrity is lacking, because rain falls from a cloud only drop by drop. But if one could conceive a propagation by diffusion which would have these four defects removed, so that light diffused would be equal to its source, heat one with fire, a river and its source simultaneous, and a cloud and rain united, then one would have a vestige, a footprint, of the eternal generation of the Son from the Father.[2]

The second type illustrates this still further. This is generation by expression, as a species from an object, an image from a seal, words by speaking, and a concept by the mind. But each one of these forms of expression is defective. In the first there is lacking the truth of the thing, which is represented in the mind by way of species. In the second, simplicity is lacking, because an image or figure has

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[1] . . . licet tota Trinitas sit lumen intelligendi, Verbum tamen naturaliter habet rationem exprimendi (cfr. I S. 6, 3 et 27, II, 1). Omnis autem creatura clamat generationem aeternam, et hanc exprimunt et repraesentant duodecim generationes, quas reperimus in creaturis. Est enim primus modus generationis per diffusionem, secundus per expressionem, tertius per propagationem. *Coll. in Hexaem.* XI, 13 (V 382).

[2] Per diffusionem, ut splendoris a luce, ut caloris ab igne, ut fluminis a fonte, ut imbris a nube plena sive rorida. In prima diffusione deficit aequalitas, quia splendor non aequatur luci. In secunda deficit intimitas, quia calor non est intimus igni sive ut informanti, sive ut originanti; est enim accidens. In tertia deficit simultas, quia fons diffundit per se partes, non totus insimul. In quarta deficit integritas, quia non tota pluvia excutitur a nube, immo per guttas. Iungas has quatuor conditiones ad unam diffusionem, quae sit splendoris habentis aequalitatem, caloris habentis intimitatem et substantialitatem, rivuli sive fontis habentis simultatem, imbris habentis integritatem: et sic habes vestigium generationis aeternae. *Ibid.* 14, p. 382.

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parts, since it could not consist in merely one point. In the third, stability is lacking, for once the words are spoken, they are gone, and nothing remains. In the fourth, substantiality is lacking; a concept of the mind is not substantial, but only a hypostasis. Again, if one were to remove all defects from this mode of propagation, so that there would be a species having truth, an image having simplicity, a word having stability, and a concept of the mind having substantiality, there would be another mirror of the eternal generation of the Son from the Father.[1]

The third mode of generation is by propagation, showing also a four-fold manner: as a germinated plant from a seed; a tree from a root; an offspring, conceived by a mother; and a son generated by a father. Yet each of these is deficient. In the first, beauty is lacking, because the form is obscured in the seed. In the case of the second, conformity is lacking, because, although the branches are one with the root, yet they differ in form, while still constituting one tree. In the third, actuality is lacking because the mother is not the active principle in the procreation of offspring, but a more passive principle, though also active. The fourth case, while superior to the other three, is still deficient, because son and father do not have existence at the same time. Scripture shows that in the eternal generation of the Son from the Father, these defects are removed.[2]

[1] Secundus modus est per modum expressionis: ut speciei ab obiecto, ut imaginis a sigillo, ut sermonis a loquente, ut conceptus sive cogitatus a mente. Et in his est defectus. In prima deficit rei veritas, quia species in oculo vel in anima non est veritas rei. In secunda deficit simplicitas, quia imago sive figura non est in puncto vel in simplici, sed partes habet. In tertia deficit stabilitas, quia sermo transit et non manet. In quarta deficit substantialitas, quia conceptus mentis non est substantia, vel hypostasis. Auferas hos defectus et pone expressionem, quae sit ut speciei ab obiecto habentis veritatem, ut imaginis a sigillo habentis simplicitatem, ut sermonis a loquente habentis stabilitatem: (ut conceptus a mente habentis substantialitatem) et tunc habebis alteram partem speculi. *Ibid.* 16, p. 382.

[2] Tertia generatio est per modum propagationis, et hoc quadrupliciter: ut germinis a semine, ut arboris a radice, ut prolis conceptae a ventre vel utero materno, ut filii a patre principiante. In prima generatione deficit formositas, quia in semine est forma confusa et occulta; sed non sic filius.

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Saint Bonaventure concludes by saying that in the twelve cases just studied, there is a mirror in which can be seen in a semi-clear way, or as one would say in Bonaventurian terminology, by contuition, the Divine Exemplar or the Word representing all things.[1]

More can be said concerning generation by expression, as of a species from an object. In a higher degree than in the other methods of generation mentioned above, there is found in generation by expression the beauty of form. This is a beauty which is lacking, for example, in the formation of rain from clouds, where the originating principle is obscure and dark, although noble and lofty.[2] Moreover, the manner of generation is admirable in the case of species. A species is not made of air, since it is not an essence at all, but a *modum essendi*. It is sufficient that it should have an originating principle situated between the material and the effective principle. God has given to every created thing the power to produce its similitude by a natural fecundity. Thus, in so far as an object generates its similitude, it represents the eternal generation; in so far as the attention of the soul unites the soul to the object through the instrumentality of the eye, it represents the Incarnation of the Word. Yet this generation of the species is also deficient because there is no fixed form, but it represents by a variety and diversity, both of what is near and of what is far away.[3]

In secunda deficit conformitas, licet enim sit una radix, tamen differt in forma a ramis, licet unam arborem faciant. In tertia deficit actualitas, quia mater est principium, etsi aliquo modo activum prolis, potissime tamen passivum. In quarto deficit coaevitas. *Ibid.* 18, p. 383.

[1] Has duodecim conditiones aggrega, et habebis speculum ad contuendum exemplar divinum sive Verbum, quod omnia repraesentat. *Ibid.* 20, p. 383.

[2] Item, est diffusio imbris a nube, et ibi est nobilitas ortus, quia habet virtutes caeli, per quae infundit imbrem nubes; deficit tamen formae decor, quia videtur nubes caelum obscurare et deturpare. *Ibid.* 22, p. 383.

[3] Item, est generatio per expressionem ut speciei ab obiecto; et hic est formae decor, qui deficiebat in generatione imbris. Et hoc est mirabile, quomodo talis species generatur; quia non de materia aeris, quia, cum non dicat essentiam, sed modum essendi, sufficit, ut habeat principium originativum, medium inter principium materiale et principium effectivum. Unde Deus dedit virtutem hanc cuilibet rei, ut gignat similitudinem suam

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A persevering study of the voluminous texts of the Seraphic Doctor, wherein are echoed again and again the theme of productivity, of expressionism, both within the intimate, ineffable life of the Godhead, and in the work of creation, plainly shows that here is an underlying theme that must be important to the author, and therefore to us. In fact it can even be called the *leitmotif* of Saint Bonaventure's thought.

However excellent may be the way in which the discernment of God's footprints in the sensible world leads us to the contemplation of God Himself, there is yet another way, more excellent and direct. This is through a consideration of how the mind, in reaching a certain and unmistakable judgment, does so in the light of principles rooted in God Himself. This can be seen by an analysis of the mental process by which the judgment reaches its conclusion. The reason in an act of judgment must abstract from time, place, and mutability, that is, from all dimension, succession, and transmutation. This can be done only by a reason which is immutable, uncircumscribed, and interminable. But nothing is so except what is eternal, and all that is eternal is either God, or in God.[1] If then, all that we would judge certainly, we must judge in this way, it is clear that what is the ratio of all things and the infallible rule and the light of truth must take an definite characteristics. The laws by which we judge with certainty of all sensibles coming into our consideration are infallible and in-

et ex naturali fecunditate. Unde secundum quod obiectum gignit similitudinem suam, sic repraesentat generationem aeternam; secundum quod intentio animae eam oculo unit, sic repraesentat incarnationem Verbi. (Cfr. *Itiner. mentis in Deum*, 2, 4 ad 7; *de Reductione artium ad theolog.* 8). Haec generatio speciei deficit, quia non est ibi formae fixio, sed vario modo habet generari, ut patet in speculis vario modo ordinatis; et diversimode habet repraesentare, prope, vel longe. *Ibid.* 24, pp. 383—384.

[1] Excellentiori autem modo et immediatiori diiudicatio ducit nos in aeternam veritatem certius speculandum. Si enim diiuducatio habet fieri per rationem abstrahentem a loco, tempore et mutabilitate ac per hoc a dimensione, successione et transmutatione, per rationem immutabilem et incircumscriptibilem et interminabilem; nihil autem est omnino immutabile, incircumscriptibile et interminabile, nisi quod est aeternum; omne autem quod est aeternum, est Deus, vel in Deo . . . *Ibid.* 11, 9; min. ed., pp. 309—310.

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dubitable in reference to the intellect, indelible in regard to the memory, and unchanging and indivisible in relation to the intellect in the act of judging. Thus they must be unchanging and incorruptible, inasmuch as they are necessary; unconstrained, since uncircumscribed; endless, because eternal. Furthermore, they are indivisible because they are intellectual and incorporeal. Nothing can be judged with certainty except according to these infallible laws which not only produce all form, but likewise conserve and distinguish it. It is through them that whatever enters through the senses is judged by the mind. These laws are not made, but are uncreated, and exist eternally in the divine art, by which, and through which, and according to which, all things beautiful are formed.[1]

From these two grades by which we are led to contemplate God in His footprints, first in the real, external, and physical world about us, and then in the ideal, interior world within, we conclude that all creatures of the sensible world lead us to the contemplation of the eternal God. These sensible things are shadows *(umbrae)*, echoes *(resonantiae)*, and pictures *(picturae)*; they are footprints *(vestigia)*,

[1] . . . si ergo omnia, quaecumque certius diiudicamus, per huiusmodi rationem diiudicamus, patet, quod ipse est ratio omnium rerum et regula infallibilis et lux veritatis, in qua cuncta relucent infallibiliter, indelebiliter, indubitanter, irrefragabiliter, indiiudicabiliter, incommutabiliter, incoarctabiliter, interminabiliter, indivisibiliter et intellectualiter. Et ideo leges illae, per quas iudicamus certitudinaliter de omnibus sensibilibus, in nostram considerationem venientibus, cum sint infallibiles et indubitabiles intellectui apprehendentis, sint indelebiles a memoria recolentis tanquam semper praesentes, sint irrefragabiles et indiiudicabiles intellectui iudicantis, quia, ut dicit Augustinus (Libr. II *de Lib. Arb.* c. 14, n. 38), "nullus de eis iudicat, sed per illas": necesse est, eas esse incommutabiles et incorruptibiles tanquam necessarias, incoarctabiles tanquam incircumscriptas, interminabiles tanquam aeternas, ac per hoc indivisibiles tanquam intellectuales et incorporeas, non factas, sed increatas, aeternaliter existentes in arte aeterna, a qua, per quam et secundum quam formantur formosa omnia: et ideo nec certitudinaliter iudicari possunt nisi per illam quae non tantum fuit forma cuncta producens, verum etiam cuncta conservans et distinguens, tanquam ens in omnibus formam tenens et regula dirigens, et per quam diiudicat mens nostra cuncta, quae per sensus intrant in ipsam. *Ibid.* See also Bonav., *Quaestiones Disputatae*, "De Scientia Christi," Quaest. IV (V 17—27).

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likenesses *(simulacra)*, and theatrical shows *(spectacula)* of God. They are signs that point to a principle that must be powerful, wise, and good in the highest degree. They point to an eternal origin full of light and plenitude. They show manifestly that they were made by an eternal art, the Artist finding within Himself the model for creating and ordering His productions. These signs were given us that we might be led through them to the *contuition* of God. The external world consists of copies *(exemplaria)*, or more accurately, copied things *(exemplata)*. They lead the mind hitherto constrained and immersed in the sensible, that from the sensible things which are seen, the attention may be transferred to the intelligible which are not seen. Thus it passes through signs to what is signified.[1]

The creatures of this sensible world signify, then, an invisible God, the Origin, the Exemplar, and the End of every creature. An effect implies a cause, a copy *(exemplatum)* implies a model *(exemplares)*, and a way implies an end to which it leads. Thus every creature by its very nature is a certain likeness *(effigies)* and similitude *(similitudo)* of God.[2] In this way the man who looks upon the exterior world of nature and the interior world of his own mind in the manner of Saint Bonaventure will find everywhere imprinted the footmarks of the Creator.

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[1] Ex his duobus gradibus primis, quibus manuducimur ad speculandum Deum in vestigiis quasi ad modum duarum alarum descendentium circa pedes, colligere possumus, quod omnes creaturae istius sensibilis mundi animum contemplantis et sapientis ducunt in Deum aeternum, pro eo quod illius primi principii potentissimi, sapientissimi et optimi, illius aeternae originis, lucis et plenitudinis, illius, inquam, artis efficientis, exemplantis et ordinantis sunt unbrae, resonantiae et picturae, sunt vestigia, simulacra et spectacula nobis ad contuendum Deum proposita et signa divinitus data; quae, inquam, sunt exemplaria vel potius exemplata, proposita mentibus adhuc rudibus et sensibilibus, ut per sensibilia, quae vident, transferantur ad intelligibilia, quae non vident, tanquam per signa ad signata. *Itiner.* II, 11; min. ed., p. 312.

[2] Significant autem huiusmodi creaturae huius mundi sensibilis invisibilia Dei (Rom. 1, 20), partim quia Deus est omnis creaturae origo, exemplar et finis, et omnis effectus est signum causae, et exemplatum exemplaris, et via finis, ad quem ducit; *Ibid.* II, 12; min. ed., p. 312.

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CONCLUSION

Having traced rather fully the influence of the category of the aesthetic upon Saint Bonaventure's thought and its expression, it seems abundantly clear that the influence was profound and extensive, to a degree that it might be called universal. In theology Saint Bonaventure has shown how the highest ratio of beauty lies in the Son, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, by a double title: on the part of the Father, whom He expresses by a perfect Similitude, and on the part of all created things who have in Him their exemplary ideas. In philosophy Saint Bonaventure has made exemplarism the heart of metyphysics with its implication of a making, a model, and an imitation. Corresponding to the active element in exemplarism, whereby God acts in the expression of the truth of the Eternal Ideas, there is, likewise, as a necessary correlative, a passive element of a lesser and secondary nature.[1] This takes place on the part of the creature which also expresses itself, declaring that it is an imitation, a copy of something other than itself.[2] According to its degree of imitation will it receive the name of image, vestige, or shadow. No matter how faint and how far removed the likeness be, it is always evident that what has come from the hand of the workman bears

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[1] Les deux termes actif et passif sont corrélatifs et celui qui considère l'un doit également examiner l'autre. L'étude de l'exemplarisme aura donc un double objectif: l'étude de Dieu en tant qu'il est exemplaire de toute chose, et l'étude de la créature en tant qu'elle imite l'exemplaire. Le premier point de vue est le principal; le second en est le corollaire nécessaire. J.-M. Bissen, *L'Exemplarisme divin selon Saint Bonaventure*, Paris, Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1929, pp. 4—5.

[2] Sicut exemplar secundum proprietatem vocabuli dicit expressionem per modum activi . . ., sic e contrario imago per modum passivi; et dicitur imago quod alterum exprimit et imitatur. I S. 31, II, 1, 1 (I 540).

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the mark of its maker. What God has molded is found to be *secundum Deum.*

Where does the creative idea have its source? What constitutes the creative impulse? The prerequisite of all art, both that of God and man, is liberty. In God creation is free, in no way necessitated, motivated only by His goodness which moves Him to communicate Himself. In man, too, creation, used in a restricted sense, is analogously free. Whatever similitudes there are in the soul have been received from the exterior, passing through the *sonantes* in the body, to the *occursores* in the senses, and on through the *sensuales* of delight, to be stored in the *memorales* of the memory, until called upon at will by the *iudicales.* The *iudicales* are found in the *apex mentis,* that highest point of the mind upon which shines the Light of the Divinity. Here the mind conceives, under a Divine impulse, a new composition of form. This is passed on to the numbers *artificiales* and *progressores,* and under their factive power, the exterior work of art is produced. The seat of the creative impulse cannot be where the intellect alone is located, but must be where there is a response to the intellect, the response of love. This is in the will, in that ultimate depth of the soul wherein lies personality.

What the artist has created he loves; the sculptor loves the statue that he has carved, and hates the knots in the wood that have hindered the complete concretizing of his idea; the poet loves the verses that he has composed; and the lover, filled with ardor for his beloved, sings of her, and composes music for her. If one loves God, Saint Bonaventure adds, one will do the same, praising Him, and making hymns in His honor.[1]

The greatness and the beauty of creatures proclaim the greatness and beauty of their Creator, so that the invisible things of God are made known by the things that He has made, and we are led upward, through a knowledge of creatures, as by an intervening ladder, to a knowledge of God. The primary function of beauty in creatures is

[1] Vide, quod aliquis amat mulierem amore libidinoso, ipse cantat de illa et facit cantilenas. Similiter, si tu diligas Deum, cantabis de ipso, id est, laudabis, ipsum et facies cantilenam de ipso. *Sermones de Sanctis, in Festo Bartholomaeo Apostolo* (IX 571).

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not to give us complete satisfaction and rest in their pleasures, but to draw us on to seek rest in the beauty of Him who made them. This is not difficult because every creature leads more to God than to anything else.[1]

What will the beauty of heaven be like to which all the beauty of this world leads us on? Just as this world is illumined and adorned by the light of the sun and moon and stars, so will the heavenly city be adorned and brightened by the Light of the Lamb; His Divinity is the sun; His Humanity, the moon; and the Blessed Saints, the stars. Neither sun no moon is needed because of the light of His Beauty. The Lamb Himself beautifies all, He who is the brightness and substance of Eternal Light, and the Mirror without spot. He who is the Eternal Art of all things, in whom are the ratios and ideas from eternity of all things made in time, will offer Himself and will represent Himself to the Blessed as a most bright Mirror and He will be known by all according to their respective capacities. Moreover, the Blessed will see the consciences of one another, and therein will be found very great beauty.[2]

How miserable, on the contrary, must be the soul who has once had the great privilege of being illumined by the splendors of heaven

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[1] I S. 3, I, 1, 2; min. ed., p. 51.

[2] Speciosa, secundo, per influentiam sapientiae Filii; ideo dicitur Apocalypsis vigesimo primo (Vers. 23), quod civitas illa non indiget sole neque luna, ut luceant in ea; nam claritas Dei illuminavit eam, et lucerna eius est Agnus; sicut videmus in ista machina mundiali, quod lumine solis per diem et lumine lunae et stellarum per noctem illuminatur et orantur; sic civitas illa lumine Agni decoratur et illustratur, quia Divinitas eius est ibi loco solis, humanitas eius loco lunae, Beati loco stellarum; et ideo non eget sole neque luna ratione istius pulcritudinis; et pulcrificat ipse Filius sive Agnus, qui est candor et substantia lucis aeternae et speculum sine macula, sapientiae septimo.... quanta erit pulcritudo in illa civitate, ubi ille "Filius, qui est ars aeterna omnium," in quo sunt omnes rationes et ideae ab aeterno omnium factorum in tempore, offeret se et repraesentabit se beatis Spiritubus sicut speculum clarissimum, et ab omnibus secundum possibilitatem eorum comprehendetur et manifeste cognoscetur.... Uniuscuiusque conscientia ab unoquoque Beatorum cognoscetur, et in hoc erit maxima pulcritudo. *II Sermo de Sanctis in Festo Omnium Sanctorum* (IX 601).

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in the form of spiritual light and grace, and then, forgetting its sublime destiny and its own value, turns aside to become absorbed in physical adornment, in clothes of wool and silk, fascinated by the loveliness of what was once part of the body of animals and insects. Equally reprehensible are the unfortunate individuals who descend from celestial delights to take their only pleasure in the physical charm of the human body, abandoning the eternal for the momentary, — the bodily beauty which soon changes to dust. Indeed, anyone who would make such a poor barter must be completely bereft of reason — *insania maxima*![1]

In this vein Saint Bonaventure speaks of earthly beauty in his sermons. Nevertheless, one must consider the circumstances surrounding the work, and the purpose of the writer. A sermon written for a major feast day of the Church, addressed, very likely, to a vast assembly of laity among whom were the wealthy and noble, might very well attack the vanity of worldliness and express contempt for riches and pleasures, while inviting the listeners to think of the beauty of heaven. But if one turns to the *Commentary on the Sentences*, one finds a quite sober esteem for the beauty of all created things. To appreciate fully Saint Bonaventure's keen perception of the splendor and fecundity of the material world, and the inner splendor of spiritual creatures, capable of knowing and loving their Creator, one should turn to the *Collationes in Hexaemeron*. The *Breviloquium* presents theology and history as a vast, three-dimensional picture; the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* gives the mystical journey of the mind up the ladder of creatures to God. The same viewpoint is held in the other philosophical, theological, and mystical works, whose chief purpose is not the moral one found in the sermons.

---

[1] Econtra vero igitur miserrima anima, quae creata est, ut illam lucem aeternam contempletur et ab illis splendoribus illustretur, sic excaecatur, ut incurbetur ad ista inferiora, vel in pulcritudine vestium, quae quidem vestes sunt vel ex velleribus ovium, ut patet in vestibus laneis, vel ex visceribus vermium, ut patet in vestibus sericis; vel delectetur in pulcritudine membrorum, quae quidem in pulverem vilissimam et foedidissimam putredinem redigenda sunt et a vermibus corrodenda, et dimittat illam pulcritudinem sempiternam; istud videtur esse insania maxima. *Ibid.*

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The artist sees things as wholes, seeking to unite and reconcile, and to show resemblances, rather than differences. Such was the spirit of Saint Bonaventure. Much of his prose and poetry can be considered as literature because of its beautiful symmetry of thought and expression, its masterly command of medieval Latin, and the pulsing current of a vitally human soul — a soul, indeed, in love with the beauty of the Divine, loving even its shadows and footprints and images in this world, because they lifted his mind and heart to Him who is their Model and Exemplar.

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